

THE
DOCTRINES
CONTROVERTED between
PAPISTS and PROTESTANTS
Particularly and Distinctly Consider'd:
And Those which are held by the For-
mer Confuted.
WITH AN
INTRODUCTION,
Giving an Account of the RISE and GRADUAL PROGRESS of
POPERY:
And of the DECAY of it at the
REFORMATION.

The whole is concluded with Full and Entire
ANSWERS to some CAVILS of the
Church of *Rome* against the PROTESTANT
RELIGION and the Professors of it.

By the late Reverend JOHN EDWARDS, D. D.

LONDON: *K*

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Warwick-Lane. MDCCXXIV.

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CONVERTED

PAPISTS and PROTESTANTS

And Those which are held by the For-



INTRODUCTION

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POPERY:

And of the Decay of it in the

REFORMATION.

The whole is concluded with FIFTY and FORTY
ANSWERS to some CAVALS of the
Church of Rome against the PROTESTANT
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TO THE
READER.



HAVING of late distinctly treated on the Articles of the Creed, which contain the Orthodox Faith of the Church of Christ, I will in the next Place examine the Popish Points which the Church of Rome hath presum'd to add unto the Creed, and to declare them to be of equal Authority with it, and absolutely necessary to be believ'd in order to Salvation. For the Council of Trent (Sess. 24.) adjoins this Profession to the Twelve Articles which are added by them to the Nicene Creed, that This is the True Catholick Faith, without which no Man can be saved. The Task which I have taken upon me in the following Papers is to prove the Falsity of this, and even on the contrary to shew that the Salvation of those Persons is endanger'd who wilfully embrace those Articles of the Roman Church, and conform their Practices to them.

I have made use of all those Topicks and Arguments from Scripture and Reason, which are serviceable for confuting the Popish Doctrines; and among others I have not balk'd the Testimony of the Fathers of the Christian Church, for the Sake of those that have a great Esteem for the Fathers. I know they may be quoted, and frequently are, on both Sides, because they speak Ambiguously very often: but sometimes they speak plainly and clearly, so that we can't mistake their Meaning. Our Protestant Divines generally, when they write against the Romanists, labour to answer and solve all or most of the Places in the Writings of the Antients which seem to give countenance to Popery: but I must needs declare, that this is an ill way of handling those Points. Not but that I grant this may be done sometimes, for many of the Places cited by the Roman Catholics make nothing at all for them: many of their Quotations are distorted and corrupted, and the Sense of them manifestly perverted. And 'tis plain that some of the Antient Fathers deliver many things which are quite contrary to what the others assert, and therefore Protestant Writers justly make use of those Passages to confront and confute those Opinions. So that we can oppose Antiquity to Antiquity.

THE PREFACE.

V

*It was learnedly and wisely said by one of our Prelates, " * Although it will be impossible for
" them (i. e. Papists) to conclude from the Sayings
" of a Number of Fathers, that their Doctrine,
" which they would prove thence, was the Ca-
" tholick Doctrine of the Church, because any
" Number that is less than All doth not prove a
" Catholick Consent, yet the clear Sayings of one
" or two of these Fathers, truly alledg'd by us
" to the contrary, will certainly prove that which
" many of them (suppose it) do affirm, or which
" but two or three as good Catholicks as the o-
" ther do deny, was not then Matter of Faith,
" or a Doctrine of the Church; for if it had,
" these had been Hereticks accounted, and not have
" remained in the Communion of the Church.*

Wherefore when there is Occasion for it, that is, when we are well assur'd that the Testimony of the Fathers is True and Valid, and that they speak to the Purpose, we may make use of Quotations out of these Writers. And this I have done under the ensuing Heads which I treat of.

Yea, I have found it advantageous to the Truth to make use of the very Suffrage of the Papists

* Bishop Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery. p. 6.

themselves ; for as in all Courts of Judicature the Testimony of an Adversary is laid hold upon with great Eagerness, and is always reckon'd to be considerable, and of Importance ; so in the present Case I have made frequent Use of the Allegations even of the Roman Doctors themselves, and of those Writers whom they alledge to confirm their Erroneous and False Opinions.

Whatever else might be expected in this Preface, the Reader will find in the large Introduction that immediately follows.

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THE INTRODUCTION.



BEFORE I come to give you a particular Account of the erroneous and pernicious Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, I will entertain the Reader with a succinct History of the first *Rise* and *Original* of these Errors, and of their *Progress* afterwards: And then I will shew how the happy *Reformation* began, and took place in several Countries, and what the true *Occasions* and *Causes* of it were.

I begin with the *Rise* of the *Popish Errors* and *Corruptions*, and of *Popery itself*. To this Purpose we are to remember, that our Saviour had foretold that there should be an early Defection in the Church, and that this should be promoted and advanced by false Teachers and Seducers: *Many false Prophets shall arise, and shall deceive many, Matt. xxiv. 11.* And this Seduction and Apostacy were predicted by St. Peter, 2 Epist. ii. 1. *There shall be false Teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable Heresies.* But St. Paul's Prediction concerning this Corruption in Doctrines is most remarkable of all, for he not only

tells us in general, that *in the latter Times some shall depart from the Faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits, and Doctrines of Devils*, 1 Tim. iv. 1. but he instances in particular Doctrines, as *forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from Meats*, &c. 3. which we know are the Injunctions of the *Church of Rome*. Yea, in the very Time of this Apostle, this Corruption and Apostacy commenced, as he acquaints us, 2 Thess. ii. 7. *The Mystery of Iniquity doth already work*. The Seeds of *Antichristianism* are already sown. With which agrees that of another Apostle; *As ye have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now there are many Antichrists*, 1 John ii. 18. Tho' the Man of Sin himself, the Grand Head of the Apostasy, doth not yet appear, yet his Fore-runners do, who are acted by an Antichristian Spirit. And this the same Writer means, when he saith, *Many false Prophets are gone out into the World*, 1 John iv. 1. Accordingly we read, that some of the *Galatians* and other Christians were taught by those Seducers to stand up for *Judaism*, and the Observance of the *Legal Rites*; and to couple together the *Law* and the *Gospel*, *Christ* and *Moses*, *Circumcision* and *Baptism*, *Jewish* and *Christian Practices*; which was a Specimen and Earnest of that *Judaizing Spirit*, and that *Ritual and Ceremonial Worship* which prevail'd afterwards, when *Pope-ry* was set up.

We are informed, that *the worshipping of Angels* began betimes, Col. ii. 18. which was accompanied with *voluntary Humility*, (as we read in the same Verse) that is, a superstitious Humbling and Mortifying themselves, such as God required not. And this is fitly joined with *neglecting the Body*, in the same Place; namely, a chastising their Bodies with excessive Fastings and Watchings, and the like Severities, with an Opinion of meriting by it. All which is rightly stiled *Will-Worship*, &c. 23. that is, a serving and worshipping God, according to their own Wills, Inventions and Imaginations.

Thus

Thus there were even in the Apostles Days these early Introductions to *Popery*. And we learn from that Caution given by St. John, *Little Children, keep yourselves from Idols*, 1 Epist. v. 21. that there were some Principles entertain'd in those Times, that had an immediate Tendency to *Idolatry*. This might proceed from *Simon Magus*, that Arch-Heretick, who in the Apostles Times perverted the Christian Faith, and gained several Profelytes to his Party. He (as the antient Writers of the Church relate) held that Angels were to be adored, and that Idols might be worshipped; and Adoration was paid to himself by his Admirers. *Justin Martyr* mentions a Statue erected to him as a God, and *Eusebius* reports, that the Images both of *Simon* and *Helena* (his Mate) were worshipp'd. So that *Image-Worship*, which grew into such Credit afterwards, had its Rise among the Heretical Christians in the Days of the Apostles.

It is not to be doubted that by the *ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι*, the filthy Dreamers (as we render it) which St. Jude speaks of in his Time, are meant those impure Seducers, who debauch'd others by their false Doctrines, which were no other than the *Dreams* and *Fancies* of their own Heads. And particularly by these *Dreamers*, who are said to defile the *Flesh*, may be meant the *Nicolaitans*, mention'd afterwards, *Rev. ii. 15.* who taught, that it was lawful to indulge themselves in Uncleanness and filthy Lusts. It is probable, that *Ebion* and *Cerintbus* were the Hereticks meant by those that said they were Apostles, but were not, *Rev. ii. 2.* They seem'd to be for Christianity, but they mix'd Judaism with it. So that these and the former Seducers made way for the *Papal Apostasy*, wherein all Uncleanness and Lewdness are tolerated, and wherein there is a Mixture of Christianity and *Jewish Ceremonies*.

Thus we see what were the first Beginnings of the *Antichristian State*, even CENT. I. that of *Rome*. In this first Century, viz,

the Apostles Days, and the rest of the Time that made up a hundred Years, was laid the Foundation for the future Degeneracy of the Christian Churches, and more especially for that general Corruption, which since hath obtain'd the Name of *Popery*. But tho' Error and Delusion began thus early, yet the Church, as to its main Body, retain'd its Purity and Simplicity; which occasioned that Saying of *Hegeſippus*, quoted by *Eusebius**, The Church in the first Age remain'd a pure and uncorrupted Virgin. Yea, the *Roman Church* itself was chaste and spotless, and her Faith was spoken of throughout the whole World. *Rom. i. 8.*

CENT. II. But according to the Account which the aforesaid Historian gives, this chaste Virgin began to be visibly corrupted and adulterated by false Teachers and Impostors about the Beginning of *Trajan's* Reign; that is, at the End of the First Century, and the Beginning of the Second. That the Spirit of Antichrist was stirring in *Ignatius's* Days (which was about the same time) in several Hereticks and Seducers, who endeavour'd to draw Men off from the genuine Doctrine of Christ, we may gather from that pious Father's *Epistles*; wherein he warns those he writes to against those growing Errors, and strives to establish them in the Truth. In this second Age arose some *Hereticks*, that defended the Practice of all *Lewdness*, as the *Valentinians* and *Gnosticks*; and others cried up too great a *Severity*, as the *Encratites* (of whom *Tatianus* was the Founder) who declared against Marriage, and forbade eating of Flesh; and the *Montanists* were Enemies to a conjugal Life, especially that of the Clergy. This was an early *Specimen* and *Essay* of *Popery*, which is the most severe and the most loose Religion.

* Πατριάρχης καὶ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἰερουσολήμων ἡ ἐκκλησία, Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. c. 32.

It enjoins Celibacy and Abstinence, and prescribes corporal Austerities ; and yet indulges its Votaries in many Doctrines and Practices that lead to a dissolute Life.

Telesphorus, Bishop of *Rome*, about the Year of our Lord, 140, instituted the Fast of *Lent*, upon a pretended Tradition of the Apostles ; which made way for the superstitious keeping of Days and Times : As did also the warm Dispute about the Observation of *Easter-day*, the Western Church keeping it on the Lord's-day, and the Eastern on the fourteenth Day of the Month, on what Day soever of the Week it fell out. Which latter Observation could not be born by those of the former Practice, and accordingly those of the *Eastern* Church were excommunicated by the Bishop of *Rome*. Here began an ill Use of the dreadful Sentence of *Excommunication*, which afterwards was made use of on slight Occasions. As to the main, the Form and outward Rites of Religion in this, as well as in the foregoing Age, were plain, simple, and unaffected, free from all Pomp and superstitious Ceremonies, as the Account which **Justin Martyr* gives of the Christian Meetings and Service may convince us. Only he (as well as *Clement* of *Alexandria*) acquaints us, that some Christians, when they prayed in publick, turn'd toward the East. But we shall find more of this kind in the next Age, to which I pass.

If we look into the Publick Worship at this time, we shall find, that, CENT. III. besides the Lord's-day, other solemn Times were observed. I mentioned before, that there was a Quarrel about the keeping of *Easter-day*, which proves that That was esteem'd as a *Festival* ; and now we are farther informed by *Tertullian*, *Origen*, and *Cyprian*, that not only *Easter-day* but *Whitsunday* was

kept as a Feast of the Church. And so was the *Nativity* of our Saviour, by the same sad Token that on that Day the Emperor *Maximinus* burnt the Christians of *Nicomedia*, when they were met together in the Temple to celebrate that Feast. *Niceph. Lib. 7. c. 6.* The *Commemoration of Martyrs* was also yearly solemnized, at which time there were *Oblations for the Dead*, which are mentioned and defended by *Tertullian* (*de Coron. Milit.*) who lived at the Beginning of this Century. He tells us likewise in the same Book, that the Christians *prayed standing on Sundays*, and all the time between *Easter* and *Whitsunday*, but at other times they kneel'd when they pray'd. It seems, that *Standing* was thought to be a Posture of Gladness : for that is the Reason which is assign'd afterwards by St. *Jerome* and St. *Augustin* of using that Gesture at these Seasons, namely, because they were Times of Rejoycing.

The *Sacraments* began to be corrupted in this Age, and to have some unwritten Ceremonies annex'd to them ; as *Trine Immersion*, that is, plunging the baptiz'd thrice under Water ; the *signing of the Forehead with the Cross* at, or after Baptism ; together with the Use of *Oyl, Milk, and Honey*; which are all mention'd by *Tertullian* in his *Treatise of Baptism and the Soldier's Crown*. And it is attested by him and other Fathers of this Time, that on all Occasions, but especially when they enter'd upon and undertook any solemn Action, it was usual to make *the Sign of the Cross*, as is in Practice at this Day among the *Roman Catholics*. The *Sacramental Wine* was used to be mix'd with *Water*, saith *Cyprian, Lib. 2. Ep. 3.* And in some Places *Water*, and no *Wine*, was given in the Cup to the People, as the same Author in the same Place reports. We gather from him likewise, that there was *Consecrated Bread* kept on purpose in a Chest, that they might send the *Eucharist* to the Sick.

That there were *Ministers of different Degrees* in the Church, in *Tertullian* and *Cyprian's* Days, is clear from their Writings; for the former mentions *Exorcists*; and the latter not only them but the *Acoluthi*, *Hypodiaconi*, *Lectores*, or Readers; but they were not esteemed as *Sacred Orders* in those Times, as they are since in the Church of *Rome*. Here it might be added, that particular *Habits* and *Vestments* were used by the Priests when they were employed in their sacred Offices. *Publick Repentance* (which questionless was a Discipline used even in the Apostles Times, as may be gather'd from *St. Paul's* Epistles) now began to be abused, and deprav'd by too great *Severity*, or by too great *Relaxation*. This was much more afterwards, and made way for Popish *Penance* and *Satisfaction*, and set up *Indulgences*: Which latter were a corrupt Imitation of the *Letters* or *Bills of Indulgence*; or (as they were also call'd) *Letters of Peace*, or *Pacifick Letters*; which Persons who were imprison'd for Christianity, and design'd for Martyrdom, used to give to the *Lapsi*; whereupon shewing them to the Bishops, they were abated somewhat in their Penance and Satisfaction; their publick Recantation was dispensed with, and they were received into the Communion of the Church sooner than ordinarily. For the Martyrs Sakes (for whom the Church had such Respect and Honour) these *Lapsi* were thus favour'd, and had this *Indulgence* or *Relaxation* granted them.

Virginity, or a *single Life*, began now to be extravagantly extoll'd by the Fathers of this Age. Not only about the Middle of this Century were *second Marriages* cried out against by the *Novatians*, and all Marriages declar'd against by the *Manichees* about the End of it, but even those who were not tainted with Heretical Principles excessively magnified the State of Celibacy, and equall'd it almost to Martyrdom. A *Monastick Life* began first to be in Repute in this Age, the Persecutions of the Christians giving the

first Occasion of it, when they were forced into Solitudes. Thus *Paul*, about the Year of Christ 260, became the first Hermit, flying from *Alexandria* into the Desert, because of the Persecution in the Emperor *Valerian's* Time, and continued there 'till *Constantine* the Great.

If now we look back upon what this Century hath furnish'd us with, we shall see what Steps have been made towards that Corruption, which at this Day prevails in the *Roman* Church. Only this I must add, (if I will be impartial) that these Observances, Usages, and Kinds of Life, were neither *Universal*, nor requir'd as *Necessary*. None of them were impos'd, and forc'd upon Persons, but every one was left free to observe them, or not. And 'tis farther to be noted, that they grounded the Practice of the foregoing Rites and Observations upon **Tradition* only. That was all they had to say for them; for they did not pretend that they had any Foundation for them in *Scripture*, as the *Romanists* have done since. But in the general there was a great Corruption in the Church in this Age, as we may gather from the Words of a pious Father, who lived in the middle of this Century, "† The Church of God and Spouse of Christ
" is fallen into this bad State, that to celebrate the
" Heavenly Mysteries, Light borrows Discipline e-
" ven from Darkness itself, and Christians do the
" very same things that Antichrists do.

In the succeeding Age Christianity
CENT. IV. flourish'd, by reason of that Incouragement it found from the *Roman Emperors*, now become *Christian*; the first of whom was

* Harum & aliarum ejusmodi Disciplinaryum, si Leges expositules Scripturarum, nullam invenies. Traditio tibi prætendetur Auctrix, Consuetudo Confirmatrix, & Fides Observatrix. *Tertul. de Cor. Milit.*

† Ad hoc malorum devota est Ecclesia Dei & Sponsa Dei, ut, ad celebranda Sacramenta Cœlestia, Disciplinam Lux de Tenebris mutuetur, & id faciant Christiani quod Antichristi faciunt. *Cyp. Epist. ad Pomp.*

The INTRODUCTION.

Constantine the Great, who came to the Empire in the Year of our Lord, 306. And accordingly this Age was renowned for the Multitude of learned and pious Fathers, that flourish'd in it. This religious and godly Prince had an extraordinary Kindness (as became so great and so good a Man) for the Church, and the Ministers of it, and he granted to Churchmen and their Families an Immunity from Taxes and Tribute; and in his Reign it was, that the Church began to be enrich'd by the Gifts and Oblations of the Great ones. Now it was daily endow'd with Lands and Possessions of considerable Value. But as their Revenues encreased, so did their Pride and Ambition; and Clergymen could not be content to preside over the Church, but they proceeded to advance their Authority and Dignity over Kings and Emperors, (as we shall see afterwards) which was the Birth of *Popery*, properly so call'd. But to confine myself to what was transacted in this present Age, we may observe, that *Constantine* endeavour'd to settle an Uniformity in the Church; in pursuance of which the First Council, which was conven'd by him at *Nice*, (*A.D.* 327.) order'd, that the Churches of the East and West should all keep *Easter-day* on the same Day. And whereas it had been a Custom (of which I spake before) to stand at Prayers on the Lord's-day, and at *Easter* and *Whitsunday*, now all were * *enjoyn'd* to pray standing, that thereby Uniformity might be kept up in all Churches. *The Lord's-day*, which had been instituted by Christ and his Apostles, and had been observ'd from their Time, but not universally and entirely, (for from *Ignatius's* Writings and others 'tis evident, that they kept both the *Sabbath* and the *Lord's-day* as Festivals) was now by a new Edict of *Constantine* commanded to be kept solemnly in all Places.

Friday also, in Commemoration of the *Passion*, was made a solemn Day of Fasting by his Command, and

* 20th Canon of the Council of *Nice*.

kept as strictly as the Lord's-day, say * *Eusebius* and † *Sozomen*. In this Age afterwards, in the *Western Churches*, especially at *Rome*, *Saturdays* were observ'd as Fasting-days: for which they gave this as a Reason, because this is the Time that the Bridegroom was taken away, this Day being between his Death and Resurrection. Not only *Easter* and *Pentecost*, or *Whitsunday*, were observ'd now as Festivals (which is manifest from the Writings of *Athanasius*, *Jerome*, *Ambrose*, and others) but the *Epiphany* and the *Annunciation of the Virgin Mary*. The former is mention'd by *Nazianzen*, yea more than mention'd, for he hath an *Oration* upon it; and the latter is taken notice of by *Athanasius*. *Christ's Passion* was commemorated yearly; and the Week in which this was celebrated, is call'd the *Great Week* by *St. Chrysostom*. The *Days of Martyrs* were remember'd with great Solemnity, as is witness'd by *Eusebius*, *Nazianzen*, *Jerome*, *Ambrose*; which three last flourish'd at the End of this fourth Century.

They still continued to pray toward the East; the Reason of which is thus given by *Basil*, because, saith he, in so doing they look'd toward their antient Country, Paradise, out of which they were ejected: for the Garden of *Eden* was in the East. *Athanasius* assigns this Reason, (if it may be call'd so) because the Holy Ghost by *David* bids us worship towards God's Footstool, *Psalms* xcix. 5. And *Zachary* foretold, his Feet should stand in the East, on the Mount of Olives, ch. xiv. v. 4. Therefore when we worship God, we are to bow ourselves toward the East. And there is such another Account given of it by this Father, *By turning to the Created Light*, saith he, they adore the Uncreated one. Such weak and sorry Arguments were made use of by those who resolved to bring in, or were content to submit to, Innovations in God's Wor-

* De Vit. Constant. l. 4.

† Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 8.

Ship. They bow'd at the Name of Jesus, as we learn from * St. Jerome, who complains of the Jews, that they refused to bow their Knees, when Christ was mention'd. The *Gloria Patri* was occasion'd by the *Arian* Heresy : It was a *Confession* first of all (taken from the Form in Baptism, *In the Name of the Father, &c.* and) used by Converts at Baptizing : but afterwards it was made use of as a short Hymn and Doxology, in Opposition to the *Anti-Trinitarians*, especially those that denied the Divinity of Christ. And because the *Arians* held, that the Son was from the Father in Time, and there was a Time when he was not, therefore some say that the Council of *Nice* added those Words, *As it was in the Beginning, &c.* But others think that *Jerome* was the Author of this Addition. This Doxology was afterwards annex'd to the Psalms and Hymns by *Damasus*, Bishop of *Rome*, and *Jerome's* great Friend : for towards the Close of this Century he was the first that ordain'd *Psalms* to be sung *alternatim*, interchangeably, and at the End of every Psalm *Gloria Patri, &c.* to be said.

Now the *Bones* and *Reliques* of *Martyrs* were gather'd up, translated, preserv'd, and honour'd ; of which || *Sozomen* gives several Instances. Because *Vigilantius* had writ something to qualify the extravagant Regard to the Reliques of the deceased Saints, *Jerome* shew'd himself very smart in his Writings against him, and most violently and intemperately fell upon him. *Peregrinations* to the Holy Land were now first under *Constantine*, his Mother *Helen* having travell'd thither, and found Christ's Cross, and two of the Nails ; and † she built two Temples. And *Constantine* after that § built another. So that now *Pilgrimages* to the *Sepulchre* began to be in some Repute. At this Time the *Monastick Life* is in great Esteem ; *Paul*,

* Ad Christi mentionem non inflectunt genua sua. 3 l. in *Esaiam*.

|| Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 13. l. 5. c. 9. l. 7. c. 10.

† Euseb. l. 3. de Vit. Const. § Idem. l. 4.

the first Founder of the Eremitical way of Living, was succeeded by *Anthony* and *Macarius* in *Egypt*, and by *Hilarion* in *Syria*. *Lent*, or the *Quadragesimal Fast*, was kept by the Christians. But as to the *Time* and *Duration* of their Abstinence, diverse Countries had diverse Customs, as *Sozomen* and *Socrates* acquaint us: And from what *Sort of Food* they should abstain was not universally determin'd. *Marriages* in *Lent* were forbidden by the Council of *Laodicea*, Can. 52. toward the latter End of this Century. *Syricius*, Bishop of *Rome*, (who succeeded *Damasus*) about 388, first forbade the Clergy to marry. But it was seldom practis'd and strictly observ'd 'till *Gregory* the seventh's Time, *A.D.* 1074; of whom afterwards. It is said, that *Anastasius*, Bishop of *Rome*, at the very Close of this Century, order'd, that at the reading of the Gospel all Persons should stand up.

That Rites and Ceremonies grew very numerous in the Church about this Time, may be gather'd from *St. Augustin's* complaining of them in his hundred and nineteenth Epistle, where he saith, that the Condition of the *Jews* was more tolerable than *theirs* was. In short, there was a plain Defection from the former Purity, that was in the Christian Church at first; and *Satan*, the grand Enemy, was busy in sowing of Tares, whilst the Husbandman (who should have prevented him) slept. Hence there came farther Approaches to that notorious Defection and Apostasy, which I am to set before the Reader. Human Traditions began to usurp more and more over Faith, and Wealth and Greatness corrupted the Minds and Manners of Churchmen: For *Constantine* removing the Seat of the Empire to *Constantinople*, the *Roman* Bishops took the Advantage of it, and grew greater and greater, and increased in Authority and Power; which was the Cause of a considerable Advance towards Popery.

I might begin the next Age with observing, that *Pelagius* appear'd at the Entrance of it, And I think I could make

make it evident, that *Pelagianism* and *Popery* have some Affinity: For *Pelagius* denied Original Sin, held Concupiscence to be no Sin; maintain'd that Free-will is perfect; and that a Man may arrive to such a Perfection as to live without Sin; (for this Account St. *Austin*, *Prosper*; and other antient Writers give of *Pelagianism*, not to speak of many other Tenets belonging to that Sect.) And who knows not that the chief Doctors of the *Romish Church* are Asserters of these very Opinions? Tho' it is certain, that in the Age which I am now treating of these Assertions were condemn'd and exploded as Heretical. And truly the Church, even the *Roman Church*, kept herself free from gross Errors and Heresies (*i. e.* such as subvert the *Fundamentals* of Religion) from the Beginning to this very Time. It is granted by Mr. *Calvin** himself, that she was Pure as to Doctrine the first five hundred Years. Their chief Failure and Delinquency was as to matter of *Rites* and *External Worship*; in which there were needless Additions made to the first Institution in Christ and the Apostles Times. In this Age were continued the former Practices of Trine Immersion in Baptism, and signing with the Cross and Anointing, and other Rites above-mention'd. Now began *Pictures* and *Images* to be brought into Churches; and *Altars* were erected. St. *Chrysostom* and St. *Augustin* make frequent mention of these latter, who lived in the Beginning of the fifth Century, as well as in a great part of the former one. A *Veil* was before the Altar (as we learn from † *Chrysostom*) and when they began to celebrate the Lord's Supper, it was drawn aside. *Lights* and *Tapers* were used in some Churches in the Day-time. In the *Eastern Churches* they never fasted on *Saturdays*, one only excepted in the whole Year, *viz.* the Saturday before *Easter*. But

* Institut. lib. 4. c. 2.

† Serm. 3. in 1. cap. ad Ephes.

the *Western Churches* observ'd the contrary Custom, and fasted every Saturday, as *St. Austin* informs us.

The Word [*Satisfaction*] join'd usually with the Word [*Penitence*] is used by the Writers of this Age, and they mean it of outward and bodily Infiictions, or Punishments, which they underwent for their Faults, call'd since *Penance*. The Severity of *Excommunication* was extended to the very Dead; so *Arsacius*, who was Bishop of *Constantinople* after *Chrysostom*, was excommunicated after his Death, as *Nicephorus* relates. *Monks* there were in this Age, as well as in the former; and *Monasteries of Virgins*, who profess'd perpetual Chastity. *St. Chrysostom* describes and extols them, as also the *Eremites*, who lived in Desarts alone by themselves, and fasted and pray'd continually. A new kind of *Monks* arose in this Time, viz. of such as lived in *Pillars*. *Simeon* was the first of that Order, as *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus* have told us. The *Celibacy of the Clergy* was generally approv'd of now, tho' some Bishops were married. They commemorated the deceased Martyrs, and feasted over their Tombs to Excess; they prayed for the Dead in some Places, as we may see in *Theodoret*. They translated the Reliques of Martyrs, and worship'd them. The *Litany* was compos'd by *Mammertus*, Bishop of *Vienna*, about *A. D.* 466, for averting the great Calamities which were at that time: And he brought in the Observation of *Rogation-Week*, before Ascension-day, wherein was enjoin'd Fasting and Praying for three Days, in order to the obtaining of seasonable Weather.

But I pass to the next Century, in
CENT. VI. which the Christian Churches went on
in the Practice of all those Rites and
Usages which were introduced into the former Ages.
But still they were not universal, nor the Persons
forced and compell'd to use them, nor were they
deem'd necessary to Salvation. They were rather
thought to be indifferent, tho' afterwards they came
to be of another Nature. So cautious ought we to
be

be in admitting Things of that kind at first. But there were new Inventions peculiar to this Age; as, the setting up of *Regular Monks*, whose Founder was *Benedict* an *Italian Abbot*. Now also the *Lord's Supper* was turned into a *Sacrifice* and *Mass* for the *Living and Dead*. This was the first Rise of this main Ingredient of Popery. The *Clergy* were exempted from the *Civil Jurisdiction*, by a Decree now first made by the Emperor *Justinian*, *A. D. 536.* and thereupon the offending Clergy were tried in the *Bishops Courts*. Towards the latter End of this Century, *John*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, claim'd the Title of *Œcumenical* or *Universal Bishop*; which was look'd upon by *Gregory the Great*, then Bishop of *Rome*, as an intolerable Usurpation; and in his Letters to *Mauritius* the Emperor, he warmly inveighs against the insolent Title. *Where is that Antichrist*, saith he*, *who shall challenge to himself the Title of Universal Bishop? He is near, and at the Door.* Which was accomplish'd within three or four Years afterwards, when *Boniface* usurp'd that Title. Again†, *By this his Pride*, saith he, *he shews that the Times of Antichrist are approaching.* And more positively yet‡: *I confidently assert, whosoever calls himself the Universal Bishop, is the Fore-runner of Antichrist.* Thus speaks one who was Bishop of *Rome* at that Time. And yet we see here, that the Notion of *Universal Pastorsbip*, or the *Catholick Supremacy* of one Bishop, was at that time stirring: Here was a Tendency to that which afterwards actually shew'd itself; for tho' the present *Roman Pontiff* declared against this Title, yet his Successors greedily accepted of it. About the latter End of this Century, *Indulgences* (in the Popish Acception of them) were first establish'd by Pope *Gregory I.* stiled *the Great*. Under him it was that *Austin* the Monk came into *England* in Pomp and State, to con-

* Epist. 34. 38.

† Lib. 6. Ep. 32.

‡ Ep. 30.

vert the Saxons; and brought with him Cereemonies which were not used here before. This Gregory was the first that order'd the Picture of the Virgin Mary to be carried about, and Candles to be set up in Churches in the Day-time; and his Successor, *Sabinianus*, turn'd them into Wax-lights.

At the very Beginning of the Year CENT. VII. of our Lord 600, *Mauritius* the Emperor was assassinated and murder'd by *Pbocas*, who also kill'd the Empress, and her five Children before her Face, and then succeeded his Master *Mauritius* in the Empire. It was this bloody Wretch that bestow'd the Title of *Œcumenical Bishop* on *Boniface III.* then Bishop of Rome; for *Cyriac* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who (as his Predecessor *John* had done) styled himself *Œcumenical Patriarch*, had displeas'd *Pbocas*; but this *Boniface* was in Favour, it seems, with this Murderer, and therefore was dignified with this Title of *Supreme Head of the Church*, and *Universal Bishop* over all Bishops and all Churches whatsoever. This was in the Year 606, about which Time *Mabomet* appear'd in *Arabia*; so that the *Eastern* and *Western Antichrist* appear'd together. And here now is the true *Eposbe* of the *Supremacy* of the *Popes*, and of *Popery* itself; for *Popery* did not exist till this very Time, and the full Age of the Beast was not till 666, which is therefore call'd his Number. *Popery*, properly and strictly so call'd, commenced not, I say, till the Time of this *Boniface* the Third. It is true, *Papa* was a Name promiscuously given to all Bishops, or Fathers of the Church: for *Papa* is from the old Greek Word Πάππας, a Father in Age or Dignity. *Epiphanius* and *Atbanasius* are stil'd *Papa* in St. *Jerome's* Epistle to *Pammachius*, and he calls *Austin* *Beatissimum Papam* in his Epistle before his Book *de Origine Animæ*. The Bishops of *Rheims*, of *Arles*, of *Lions*, of *Marseilles*, are called *Popes* by *Sidonius* in his Epistles: And in all the Western Churches generally, for the first four hundred and

twenty

twenty Years and upwards, this Title was given to all Bishops. Yea *Abbots* and *Priests* had this Name bestow'd upon them sometimes, as is prov'd by *Lindanus Panop.* l. 4. c. 80. And it was the common Title of all Clergymen, saith the learned **Vossius*. Thus it was before *Boniface III.* but he by *Phocas's* Order appropriated the Word to the Bishop of *Rome*, and it ever since hath denoted the Supreme Head and Universal Bishop of all the Christian Churches in the World. To the consummating of *Antichristianism* it was requisite that the Pope should be Universal Bishop of the World, and that *Rome* should be the Head Church of the World. And this was that which *Boniface III.* obtained of *Phocas* the Emperor.

Now then *Papacy* is the Headship of the Church, or claiming Government over all Churches. And *Popery* is holding the Pope to be Supreme and Universal Head of all Christian Churches: And that Body of Persons are rightly call'd *Papists*, who acknowledge the *Pope* to be the Head of all Churches. A Primacy of Order was before given to the Bishop of *Rome*, this being the Imperial City; great Deference was paid to him, and Controversies were frequently referred to him; but it was *Boniface* that gave the complete Life to the Cause, by procuring all succeeding Popes an unlimited Jurisdiction and Dominion, whereby as Lords and Monarchs of the World they can decree, enjoin, command what they please, and all Persons are obliged to obey them. They, by Vertue of their Universal Power, can impose what Doctrines and Practices they think fit on Mankind. So then the full and most comprehensive Idea, which we are to have of *Popery* is this, that it is not only acknowledging the Pope to be Head and Monarch of all Churches, but also a believing and professing all the corrupt Doctrines, and a submitting to all the evil Laws and Constitutions of the Church of *Rome*, in opposition to

* Clerici omnes Papæ dicti.

the Laws of Christ and his Apostles ; and more particularly (of late) of the *Protestant* Religion.

And now what can be expected but that under this Universal Bishop a Catholick and General Depravation should over-spread the Church ? And so it did. There were Tares scatter'd in the Lord's Field before ; but now the good Corn is pluck'd up by the Roots, and the Simplicity and Purity of the Christian Faith and Worship are cashier'd. Pope *Boniface IV.* who immediately succeeded the other of that Name, open'd the *Pantheon* at *Rome*, the idolatrous Temple of all Gods, and instead of the Pagan Deities commanded the *Virgin Mary* and *all Saints* and *Martyrs* to be worshipp'd there, consecrating the Place to that Purpose. Hence the *Feast of all Saints* is celebrated with us at this Day : for on the Calends of *November* that Solemnity was appointed to be kept. Now the Superstitions of *Rome* were spread far and wide ; the *Elevation* of the Sacrament was used ; *Tonsures* and *Unctions of Priests* were in fashion ; *Canonical Hours of Prayer* were introduced ; *Monks* and *Eremites* increased ; the *Marriage of Priests* was accounted unlawful. The *Invocation of Saints* was first used in Publick Liturgies under *Boniface V. A. D. 618.* Pope *Vitalianus* was the first that order'd Divine Service to be celebrated *every where* in the *Latin* Tongue, in the Year 666. In this Century, with the Feast-days were brought into the *Church Organs*, and *playing on Musical Instruments.*

We have seen the *Advances to Popery*, and also the *First Rise and Formation* of it : Now view its *Progress* ; or if you will, let us observe the several Ages of Popery : Its *Birth*, *Infancy*, and *Childhood* were in the last Century ; and now this Eighth may be call'd its *Youth*, which we shall find to be very brisk and active. For *Phocas* having set up the *Roman Bishops* higher than ever, they ride over the Heads of all Bishops, yea and of Kings and Emperors. Pope
Zachary

Zachary depol'd *Childeric* King of *France*, and set up *Pepin*, the Son of *Charles Martel*, in his Place ; for which Kindness *Pepin* bestow'd upon the Pope and his Successors several Territories in *Italy*, and augmented their Jurisdiction. *Charles* afterwards surnamed the *Great*, the Son of this *Pepin*, succeeded him in the Throne of *France* ; and because he was very observant of the Church of *Rome*, the Pope honoured him with the Title of the *most Christian King*. The great Dispute in this Age was about the worshipping of *Images*, and the Adoration of them was decreed first of all in the second Council of *Nice* under the Empress *Irene*, *A. D.* 767. But it must be said to the Honour of the aforesaid *Charles*, that he, by calling the Synod at *Frankfort*, rescinded the Acts of the second *Nicene* Council, wherein worshipping of *Images* was approv'd of. But at length this main and essential point of Popery, *Image-Worship*, was publicly decreed and establish'd ; and thro' the Severity of the Bishops, those that refused to submit to it were banish'd and excommunicated, and otherwise persecuted. In this Century were brought in *Private Masses* ; a rigorous abstaining from certain Meats ; new *Pilgrimages* to Churches ; *Canonizing of Saints*. All Religion was turn'd into Superstition, saith a * Writer of the *Roman Communion*.

At the Entrance of the next Century *Charles* the Great, King of *France*, CENT. IX. was by the Pope's Help made Emperor of the West ; and to requite the Pope the Emperor hugely augmented the Authority of the *Roman See* : And if *Luther* may be credited †, he founded as many Bishopricks and Cathedral Churches as there are Letters in the *A, B, C* : He exempted the Clergy from Civil Jurisdiction, and order'd that Ecclesiastical Persons should be tried by their Bishops, and not by Laymen ; and he took care, that their Goods, as well as

* Mezer. Hist. Gallic. Tom. 1.

† Coll. Menf.

Persons, should be privileg'd. Now all Arts were us'd to exalt the Papal Cause and Interest, and accordingly the *Decretal Epistles* of the first Popes were brought to light, or rather forg'd : for some of them at least are not receiv'd as authentick, but are reckon'd as spurious, even by * *Baronius* and † *Bellarmino*. Now *Constantine's Donation* was first set up, to enhance the Pope's Temporal Power : a Fiction, that tells us, that *Constantine* gave not only *Rome*, but several other Countries of *Italy*, to Pope *Sylvester* and his Successors for ever, as sole temporal Lords and Sovereigns of them. But this *Donation*, or *Edict*, is not so much as mention'd by *Eusebius*, who wrote five Books of *Constantine's* Life, and said all he could in Praise of this Emperor ; nor by *Damasus*, one of the Popes of *Rome*, who wrote *Sylvester's* Life, and is in all things very particular ; nor by *Jerome*, who wrote the Lives of the Bishops of *Rome* ; nor by any other of the Historians that relate the Affairs of the Church, as *Eutropius*, *Ruffinus*, *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, *Evagrius*, *Paulus Diaconus*, *Orosias*, *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*, *Bede* : And *Platina* speaks not of it. Nay, it is disown'd and disprov'd by several other Writers of great Note, (and some of the Church of *Rome*) as *Aeneas Sylvius*, (afterwards Pope *Pius II.*) *Laurentius Valla*, *Volaterranus* in the Life of *Constantine*, Cardinal *Cusanus*, *Guicciardine*, *Alciat* : Yea, the great Cardinal *Baronius* proves, that this pretended *Donation* was made and devised above a thousand Years after Christ, and first set forth by *Theodorus Balsamon*, i. e. eight hundred Years after the Death of *Constantine* the Great. Besides, the last Will and Testament of this Emperor shews, that this *Donation* is counterfeit : for as *Eusebius*, *Zonaras*, and other credible Historians acquaint us, the Emperor divided the Empire among his three Sons ; giving to *Constantinus* all the East Parts of it, and to *Constantine* and *Constans* *Italy* and *Rome*

* Annal. A. D. 102.

† De Pontif. Rom. l. 2. c. 4.

itself,

itself, with all the *Western Territories*. Now, can it be imagin'd that he would leave that by Will to his Sons, which he had given away before to the Popes of *Rome*? The Donation then, which in this Century was trump't up, was a mere Forgery, and design'd (as other things were) to advance the secular Dominion and exorbitant Rule of the *Roman Pontiffs*. *Canonizing of Saints* was first under *Leo III.* about the Beginning of this Century, tho' some have said it was at the latter End of the foregoing one: But others say it was brought in about *A. D. 880*, by Pope *Adrian*, and confirm'd afterwards by *Alexander III.*

About the middle of this Century, to the perpetual Shame and Reproach of the *Roman Church*, there was a Pope that bore the Name of Pope *John VIII.* (Successor to *Leo IV.* and Predecessor of *Benedict III.*) and was found to be a Woman, and (which is more) a Strumper, got with Child by a Collegue-Cardinal, and deliver'd of her Burden as she went to the *Lateran Church* in a publick Procession: So that the *Whore of Babylon* mention'd in the *Revelation* may be understood even in the Literal Sense. None were admitted, for many Years after this, to the Papal Chair 'till they were search'd, and had undergone the Penance (as 'twere) of the *Sella perforata*, tho' now that Scrutiny is not practis'd. There are above forty Writers, and thole of the *Roman Communion*, that own this Relation concerning the She-Pope to be true; so that there is no Question to be made of it. The Council of *Constance*, when *John Huss* upbraided them with this She-Pope, silently bore it, and made no Reply to it. Their own Authors most readily grant that this was a very ignorant and impious Age, and that the Church of *Rome* became infamous by its most scandalous Enormities. *There was never any Age more unlearned and more unhappy than this*, saith the great *Cardinal. And another of that high Rank

* Sæculo hoc nullum extitit indoctius, aut infelicius. *Bellarmin. de Rom. Pontif. l. 4. c. 12.*

tells us, that now † *were thrust into Peter's Chair, which is the Throne of Christ, Monsters of Men, most filthy in their Lives, and every way polluted and unclean.* And he saith, that at this time there might have been seen in the Temple, *the Abomination of Desolation.* We may from the whole pronounce, that *Popery* now was in the Height of its *Youth*, and approaching even to its *Manhood* and ripe Years.

Towards the End of the foregoing
CENT. X. Century, and the Beginning of this, the *Corporal Presence* of Christ in the Eucharist was stilly maintain'd ; the Religion of the *Monasteries* grew greater and greater ; and the number of *Nuns* increased ; *Agnus Dei's* invented ; *Bells* honour'd with *Baptism*, and had *Names* given them. This impious Invention was first set on foot by Pope *John XIV.* about the middle of this Century. And we are told by a * great Champion of the *Roman Church*, that not only Water was used and a Name given, but (as in the baptizing of Children) Oil and Salt were made use of, and Godfathers and Mothers are also required. At the latter End of this Century *the Feast of All Souls* was first instituted by the Abbot of *Clugny*, and then allow'd of by Pope *John XVI.* Ceremony and outward Religion swallow'd up all. In this and the last Century the *Roman Bishops* became *Secular Princes*, and minded nothing but *Glory* and *Wealth*. It was usual with the Popes to *excommunicate Kings*, to *dispose of Thrones*, and to *translate Empires*. Only in the End of this Century Pope *Sylvester II.* who was promoted to the Papacy by the Authority of his Friend *Otho* the Emperor (who had been his Pupil) and without the Consent of the *Roman Clergy*, did not (as others had done before) in-

† Intrusi in Cathedram Petri, solium Christi, homines monstrosi, vitâ turpissimi, usquequaque foedissimi. *Baron. Annal.*

* Bellarm. de Pontif. Rom. l. 4. c. 12.

fringe the Emperor's Dignity and Rights, but caused them to be restored to him. In the other Parts of this Century it had not been so: For Popes and Emperors fell out with one another: Yea, there were great Quarrels among the Popes themselves, as happen'd when there was a double Election. The *Infalible* Men could not agree; the *Rocks* split on one another. All the Historians that speak of these Times, as *Platina*, *Luitprand*, *Baronius*, *Onuphrius*, *Ciaconius*, *Bellarmino*, *Bale*, cry out against the Exorbitancy and horrible Wickedness of the Popes, and give them no better Titles than these, *Gluttons*, *Thieves*, *Murderers*, *Traytors*, *Adulterers*, *Sodomites*, *Atheists*. Wealth had made the Church wanton, and Wickedness had no Restraint, was *Platina's* particular Complaint of these Times. This is call'd the *Dark* and *Obscure Age* by *Bellarmino* and *Baronius*, and by our *Dr. Cave*: And others call it the *Midnight* of the Church, there being now such a Decay every where of Knowledge and Learning. *Theophylact*, Archbishop of the *Bulgarians*, was the only learned Man of Note in this Century. All Writers agree in this, that this Age and the following one were infamous for Ignorance and Vice. From the whole we may gather, that the *Papacy* at this time was arriv'd to the Age of *Manhood*, but we must expect it still to grow stronger and stronger.

The Papal Power and Jurisdiction being advanc'd thus far, there are now CENT. XI. daily Accessions made by the Ambition and Pride of the *Roman* Pontiffs. Pope *Leo IX.* about the middle of this Century rais'd the State of *Cardinals* to a higher pitch than they had ever before reach'd to. They sprang first from the *Parish-Priests* of *Rome*, who being many in one Parish, the first in Order, or the Rector, was call'd the *Cardinal*, that is, the Principal Priest. And at this very time the *Cardinals* are *Priests* or *Deacons* of some of the *Parishes* at *Rome*, and take their Title from them. But

they rose to their high Degree and Eminency in this Century, and took Precedence not only of Bishops but of Secular Princes. Towards the latter End of this Century, *Hildebrand*, who ascended the Papal Throne, and took upon him the Name of *Gregory VII.* advanc'd the Pope's Power above all temporal Power of Kings and Emperors. He excommunicated the Emperor *Henry IV.* and made him wait bare-foot at his Gates, and submit his Crown and Scepter to him: And he bestow'd these royal Ensigns on *Radolph Duke of Saxony.* In this Age *Simony* prevail'd excessively among the Churchmen. The Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* was asserted and defended with great Zeal against those that oppos'd it. It was maintain'd, that the Elements were turn'd into the true Body and Blood of Christ, and that the Elements after Consecration vanish quite away. This being so miraculous an Act, and wholly in the Power of the Priests, it is no Wonder that a Doctrine which so much advanc'd the Credit and Repute of the Priests was so zealously promoted. *Purgatory* at this time was much cried up and defended, this being as much for the Priest's Advantage, as the foregoing Doctrine was for their Honour. The *Celibacy of the Clergy* was enjoined first by Pope *Siricius* in the fourth Century; but not rigorously and effectually, 'till Pope *Gregory VII.* A.D. 1074. Prayers to deliver Souls out of *Purgatory* were first appointed by *Odilo*, Abbot of *Clugny*, about this time. Now *Beads* were first used in Prayers: one *Peter*, an Hermit, was the Inventor of them. *Reliques* were much prized. *Miracles* were boasted of.

The Papal Spirit farther shews it
 CENT. XII. self in its true Colours and Figures,
 and strives to lord it over all. The
 Popes endeavour by all Arts to wrest out of the
 Hands of the Laity, yea of Kings themselves, all Privileges that belong'd to them, with relation to the
 conferring of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Preferments.
 The Emperors and Popes quarrel about the Power of
Investiture

Investiture and Donation of Bishopricks and Archbishopricks. Popes and Anti-Popes trouble this Century, and sticke who shall be True Pope. In *England* our Archbishops of *York* and *Canterbury* fall out four or five times about the *Primacy*. Popes are grown up to that unsufferable Insolency, that great Monarchs must kiss their Feet, walk their Horses, hold their Stirrups, by the same token that *Frederick* the Emperor mightily offended Pope *Adrian*, because he did not hold his Stirrup on the right side. Pope *Alexander III.* (the Successor of *Adrian*) set his Foot on the Neck of the Emperor, prophanely applying that of the Psalmist, *Pf. xci. 13. Thou shalt tread upon the Lion and Adder; the young Lion and the Dragon shalt thou trample under Feet.* Afterwards when the Emperor *Henry VI.* came to be crown'd by Pope *Celestine*, as soon as he had put on the Crown, he kick'd it off again, to let him know, that he could both make and unmake Emperors. About the Beginning of the next Century the Emperor *Frederick II.* (Son of *Henry VI.*) was excommunicated over and over again, and at last deposed by the Papal Power: But I am not come to that Century yet.

Now in this twelfth Century, which I have been speaking of, the *Schoolmen* and the *Canonists* set up, who both were serviceable to the *Roman* Interest. *Peter Lombard*, Bishop of *Paris*, was the Ringleader of the former, and first Author of that Divinity composed of *Aristotelian* Philosophy, commonly call'd *School-Divinity*. For at the latter End of the foregoing Century that Philosopher's Writings came into request in *Europe*, *Averroes* and *Avicenna* having translated them out of *Arabick* into *Latin*. *Lombard* leading the way, the *Schoolmen* greedily embraced this Philosophy, and incorporated it into their Theology, and thereby render'd this latter litigious, nice, and oversubtle. Hereby this way of Learning (which otherwise might have been of good Use) became advantageous to the *Papal* Cause: For it entertain'd, and held the

the Studios in play, whilst the projecting Men carried on their Designs for the *Roman Grandeur*. And, besides, it rooted out Practical Divinity, and introduced needless Speculations, and on that Account was not a little serviceable to so bad a Cause.

And not only the *Scholastical Sophisters*, but the *Canonists* and *Commentators on the Decrees of Popes* appear'd now. Which was occasion'd thus; *Lotharius II.* who was then Emperor, reviv'd and reinforc'd the *Imperial or Civil Laws*, heretofore put out by *Justinian*; he order'd the reading of them in the Schools, and enacted that they should be made use of in Courts of Judicature. This was not acceptable to the High-Church Men; and therefore that the Emperor's Laws might not be observ'd, *Gratian*, a Monk, was employed in collecting and digesting the *Decrees and Constitutions* made by the *Popes* and *Cardinals*, the *Decrees and Canons of General and Provincial Councils and Synods*, respecting either Faith, or Manners, or Discipline; together with *Sentences and Rules* taken out of the *Antient Fathers*; and other Rules out of the *Holy Scriptures*. Of these four the whole consisted. It is true, *Dionysius Exiguus* and *Johannes Antiachenus Scholasticus* began this Work in the Emperor *Justinian's* Reign; and afterwards in the eleventh Century *Burcardus* added to it; and afterwards in the next Age *Ivo* a *French Bishop* collected more Ecclesiastical Canons. At last, they were perfected by the foresaid *Gratian*, in the Year of our Lord 1149, and allow'd and authoriz'd as Law by Pope *Eugene III.* and were commanded by him to be read and studied in the Universities, and practis'd in the Spiritual Courts. This was the Rise of that which is call'd the *Canon-Law*. Here I might add, that in this and the foregoing Century there was great Struggling about *choosing the Popes*. They got it to that Pass, that several were chosen without the Emperor's Consent. This contributed much toward the advancing of the *Popes*, and the Interest of the *Roman Church*. The Doctrines
of

of Purgatory, Praying to Saints, Worshipping the Virgin Mary, Transubstantiation, &c. were supported by *Feigned and Counterfeit Miracles*.

Scholastick Divinity, which was set up in the preceding Century, en- C E N T. XIII. creased, and grew to its Height in this following one: For by *Lombard's* Example many studied and wrote Subtilties, and mingled their Niceties with Divinity, and obscur'd all with intricate Disputations. The most celebrated Men of this way were *Dominic, Alexander Hales, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas*. To the *Decrees* (put forth in the last Century by *Gratian*) are now added five Books of the *Decretals* by Pope Gregory IX. of which I shall speak somewhat afterwards. At present it may suffice to say, that by adhering to these and the like Writings, the *Scriptures* were laid aside to make way for the Determinations of Men. The Sacrament of the Eucharist was hitherto receiv'd in both kinds, but at the Beginning of this Century Pope *Innocent III.* denied the Cup to the Laity. Under him was held the fourth Council of *Lateran*, A.D. 1215. wherein the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* was settled by the publick Law of the Church, and defin'd as an Article of Faith. And *Auricular Confession* of all Sins to a Priest was here first peremptorily and absolutely enjoined.

New Orders of Monks and Friars are establish'd, viz. that of the *Franciscans* by one *Francis*, and that of the *Dominicans* or Preaching Friars, the Founder of which was *Dominic* beforemention'd, a *Spanish Monk*, and the *Atlas* of the Church of *Rome*. For they tell us in the Life of this *Dominic*, that it was represented to Pope *Honorius III.* in a Dream, that the Church of *Rome* was falling, and that St. *Dominic* supported it with his Shoulders: Therefore it is no Wonder that the Pope confirm'd this Order. The *Augustin* and the *Carmelite Friars* were now also instituted, and a mighty Reverence was paid to them all by all Sorts of

of Persons, and happy were those that had the Honour to be buried in a Monk's Cowl. Thus the Superstitions of *Rome* were daily encreased, and their Jurisdiction and Principles established. Only I will add, that the Church of *Rome* had a considerable Loss about the Beginning of this Age, viz. by the *Greek Church's* falling off from her, and renouncing all Communion with her : Pope *Boniface VIII.* was the first that instituted the *Jubilee* about *A. D.* 1300, at the Beginning of the fourteenth, or End of the thirteenth Century.

In the Close of the last, and the
CENT. XIV. Beginning of this Century, which
I am now entring upon, under Pope
Boniface VIII. (who, as *Platina*, *Naucenus*, *Sabelius*, and other Historians say, was one of the wickedest Popes that ever sat in the Chair, of whom it was said, he entred like a Fox, reign'd like a Lion, and died like a Dog) Popery was at its full Growth, in respect of the elevated State, Authority, and Tyranny of the Pope, Cardinals, and Bishops. The Popes were prophane and profligate, and are so described by the *Roman Writers* themselves. Monks increased, and grew very dissolute and impious in their Lives ; so grossly, that they were abhorr'd by the People. Now (as formerly) *Visions* and *Revelations* and *Miracles* were feigned to confirm the Doctrines of Purgatory, Saints-Worship, Reliques, &c. The Schoolmen went on still to amuse Men with dry and sapless Notions, Subtilties and Intricacies ; the chief of whom were *Scotus*, *Durandus*, *Holcot* and *Occham*. And they were split into two Divisions according to the Stile of those Times, viz. the *Nominals*, the Head of whom was *Occham* ; and the *Reals*, the chief of whom were *Scotus* and *Thomas*. The Canonists were now improved by a new Accession to the Canon Law : For before only they had the *Books of Decrees* and *Canons* before-mentioned ; with five Books of the *Decretals* put forth by *Gregory IX.* which for the greatest Part
of

of them are the *Epistles of Antient Popes*, written either by some Pope alone, or by a Pope and his Cardinals, at the Suit of one or more Persons, for determining some Controversy relating to Religion. Now a sixth Book was added by *Boniface VIII. A. D. 1297.* After that *Clement V.* made his Constitutions and Canons in the Council of *Vienna*, which are call'd the *Clementines*. They were publish'd after his Death by Pope *John XXII.* his Successor, *A. D. 1317.* To which soon were added the Constitutions call'd the *Extravagants* by the said *John* and other Popes. Afterwards *Gregory XIII.* about 1575, corrected all the former Collections of Canon Law, and put out the Body of the *Jus Canonicum*, as now.

Here by the way it might be observ'd that this Pontifician or Canon Law hath some Analogy with the Imperial one; For the *Decrees* answer to the *Pandects*; the *Decretals* to the *Codex*; the Books of the *Clementines* and *Extravagants* to the *Novells*; and Pope *Paul IV.* about the Middle of the sixteenth Century caused the *Institutions* of the Canon Law to be made, which answer to *Justinian's Institution*. All this was to make up Popery as compleat as they could, and to establish it with all its Corruptions, as a firm Law. I'll end with the Reflection of a learned Prelate*,
 " The Body of the *Canon Law* (saith he) was made
 " by the worst and most ambitious Popes, Pope *Alex-*
 " *ander III.* who made *Gratian's Decree* to become
 " Law; *Gregory IX.* *Boniface VIII.* *Clement V.*
 " *John XXII.* Persons bloudy, cruel, Traitors to
 " their Princes, &c." *Platina* and *Polydore Virgil*
 affirm, that the first who sold *Indulgences* and made a
Merchandize of them was Pope *Boniface IX. A. D.*
1390. but the first Use of *Indulgences* was a consi-
 derable time before, in the Time of Pope *Alexander*
III. about *A. D. 1160.*

The Popes generally are great Villains ; three of them now are *deposed* by the *Council of Constance*, and a new one chosen. The next but one after him is deposed by the Council of *Basil*. And if Pope *Sixtus IV.* and Pope *Alexander VI.* had met with the same Discipline, it would have prevented unspeakable Mischiefs, Outrages, and Villanies. Tho' the forenam'd Council of *Constance*, which was assembled at the Beginning of this fifteenth Age, did well in casting off the foresaid Popes, yet they did as ill in condemning *John Wickliff's* Doctrine, and decreeing *John Hus* and *Jerome of Prague* to be burnt. This was the first Council that took away the Cup from the People, and appointed the Half-Communion, that is, the Communion under one Kind, in a plain Defiance of Christ's Command ; thereby settling that Point of Popery, which before was not establish'd with such Authority, altho' they generally denied that Element to the People ; and Pope *Leo* (as was said before) was a great forwarder of that Practice. The first Council that approv'd of the *Seven Sacraments* was that of *Florence*, *A. D.* 1439, tho' among the *Popish Writers* *Hugo de S. Victore*, a *Parisian Monk*, who flourish'd about *A. D.* 1130, and *Peter Lombard*, Bishop of *Paris*, who liv'd about *A. D.* 1140, were the first that asserted and defin'd the Number of the Sacraments to be Seven, viz. Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, and Matrimony. In this Council *Purgatory* was receiv'd and establish'd first, tho' in *St. Augustin's* Time it was started : But it was first made a Doctrine of Faith by the *Florentine Council*. In the Year 1476 Pope *Sixtus IV.* sent forth his Decree for the solemnizing the new Feast of the *Conception of the Virgin Mary* in the Church for ever.

In this Age the whole Set of *Romish* Doctrines and Errors was completed ; the Tyranny of the Bishops of *Rome* consummated ; the Pride, Luxury, Lust, Prophaneness

phanes of the *Roman* Catholicks fill'd up, and all the Vices culminant. These were so excessive and notorious, that some considerate Persons of their own Communion were not asham'd or afraid to inveigh openly against them, and to cry aloud for a *Reformation*. Thus we have seen the *Infancy*, *Youth*, and *Riper Years* of this Popish Monster. It only wants the last Stroke to complete all its Lineaments, and that you shall have in the *Council of Trent*. But even before that we shall take notice of its *Declining Age*, to render our Relation of these Matters the more plain and perspicuous, the more orderly and methodical.

There are now nine hundred Years past, since *Popery* was first erected; CENT. XVI. and it hath by all Arts and Methods imaginable been brought to its Height. And now, when it is so high and rampant, we are to observe how it is at the same time verging to a *Declension*. For there having been way made for it before by the Complaints of several eminent Persons in former Ages against the Corruptions of the Church, at length the Emperor and Princes of *Germany* attempted a *Reformation*, which was occasion'd and began by the following Occurrence. In the Year 1515 Pope *Leo X.* (the same that told Cardinal *Bembus*, that Christianity was a *profitable Fable*) a vicious and profligate Wretch, (as he is acknowledg'd by their own Writers) to maintain the vast Expences he was at, sent out his *Indulgences* thro' all Christendom, where *Popery* had footing, and the *Rate* was set upon every *Sin*. With the Collectors of this Money he sent *Preachers to acquaint the People with the Benefit of *Indulgences*, to cry up the Necessity and Excellency of them. Among other Places they come to *Germany*, where *Tetzel*, a *Dominican* Frier, was the chief Manager and Disperfer of the *Indulgences*, and en-

deavour'd to persuade the People, that these were no other than **Reconciliations between God and Man*; and therefore as they hoped to be taken into the divine Favour, they must part with their Pence, and buy up these Pardons with all Speed. If they neglected to comply with this Motion, they must expect to be recompensed with innumerable Curses and Plagues in this Life, and be sent into eternal Torments at their Death, without the Favour of touching at Purgatory. When these impious and prophane Merchandizers came to *Wittenburg* upon the *Elbe*, a City of *Saxony*, *Martin Luther*, who had been an *Augustin* Frier, and was now a Student (and afterwards Doctor and Professor of Divinity) in this University, preach'd and wrote against them. *Tetzel* and *Eckius* and several other Popish Divines drew their Pens against him, and maintain'd that † the Pope by his Indulgences could not only pardon past Sins, but even those which any Person intended and resolv'd to commit in the following Part of his Life. And particularly *Tetzel* asserted, that the Cross of Indulgence, which the Pope had erected and appointed, was of equal Power and Value with the Cross of Christ. These abominable Doctrines forced *Luther* to oppose them, and by Pen and Discourse to withstand these intolerable Abuses put upon the People, and at the same time to preach and write against other Corruptions in the *Romish* Church, and even against the Pope, the Author of these Evils, and to call for a Reformation, and to shew the absolute Necessity of it. This was in the Year of our Lord, 1517, which was the eighth Year of our King *Henry* the eighth's Reign. So that we may date the Reformation in *Germany* from this Year.

Luther went on civilly and calmly, and with great Submission at the first. He offer'd to dispute, and

* Coll. Mens. cap. 23.

† Ibid.

gave in his *Theses* : * He humbly address'd himself to the Pope : He meekly *supplicated his Holiness*. But when he saw that he was ill used, and without any Reason, he grew warm and fierce ; or rather, he did but give Proof of his usual Temper. For his Heat and Fierceness was not his Fault, but his natural Temper and Disposition, which Providence made use of to great Purposes. This made him a fit Instrument to undertake and carry on those great Enterprizes, which he was design'd for : whereas, if he had been of a calm and soft Nature, he could have done little at that time. Thus we see, that the divine Wisdom raises up such Instruments as are proportion'd to their Work. *Elijah*, of a fiery Spirit, was fit for the declining and desperate State of *Israel*. *Luther*, the *German Elias*, was made for the Business he was employed in ; that is, he was warm and active, bold and daring, and of an Heroick Spirit. *Erasmus* told the Duke of *Saxony*, that *Luther* had two Faults, which were these ; he would touch the Monks Bellies, and he would touch the Pope's Crown. In another Letter to the said Duke he represents him right, when he saith, † *Luther gave the World a violent and bitter Potion* ; which yet was necessary, if we consider the Disease it labour'd under. Therefore in an Epistle to *Melancthon* he tells him, that ‖ *the Manners of Christians were so corrupted every where, that they required some cruel and pitiless Chastiser*. And afterwards in the same Epistle he grants, that their § *Manners deserv'd no other than an unmerciful Physician, one that would heal their Maladies by Cutting and Burning*. Such a one was *Luther*, and such he own'd himself to be ;

* Hist. Conc. Trid.

† *Lutherus porrexit Orbi pharmacum violentum & amarum.*

‖ Sic undique corrupti mores Christianorum flagitabant immitem aliquem castigatorem. *Erasm. Ep. lib. 19. Epist. 3.*

§ Fortasse nostri mores meruerunt tam inclementem medicum, qui sectionibus & usturis curaret morbum.

* *No Man, saith he, had been so bold as to fall upon Popery; for the Pope carried this Stile, Noli me tangere. † I am, saith he, the Pope's Pearch, that bath sharp Fins, and so the Pope is not able to devour me.* And after this blunt Fashion he tells us, that *the || Pope had found a Hedge-hog of him to chew upon.* Again, he saith of himself, *§ It pleased God to lead me on into the Mouth of the Cannon, like a Bar-Horse that bath his Eyes blinded, and seeth not who runneth upon him.* This Boldness, this Confidence, this Fortitude it was, that render'd him so fit and able to grapple with those Difficulties which lay in his way.

And upon other Accounts he was an excellent Person, and an eminent Man of God. The *University of Wittemburg*, where *Luther* liv'd and convers'd, wrote to the Pope on his Behalf, and gave him a most illustrious Character, and an ample Testimony of his Learning and Holy Life. "*Luther* was, (saith a * Reverend and Learned Doctor of our own Church) as worthy a Divine as the World had in those Times, or in many Ages before; and that for clearing sundry Points of greatest Moment in our Christian Profession, much obscur'd and entangl'd before with the intricate Disputes of Schoolmen; all succeeding Ages shall be bound to honour his happy Memory." He was a Person of great Sense, Parts, Wit, and Eloquence; of a very piercing Judgment, and of very great Literature. His Skill in the *Hebrew* Tongue was a Prodigy in those Days; he translated the Old Testament out of that Language into *Higb-Dutch*, or the *German* Tongue. He was admir'd and reverenc'd by the best and wisest Men of that Age, even such as were but moderate or indifferent themselves. All applauded his Sincerity and Uprightness in the Cause, amidst so great Temptations,

* Coll. Mensal. † Ibid. || Ibid. § Ibid.

* *Eld.* on the Church. l. 3. c. 42.

if not to betray it, yet to let it fall and sink. It was a Commendation that one of the Cardinals gave of him, that *he car'd not for Gold*. And as he lived, so he died an irreconcilable Enemy to *Rome*; for about three Hours before his Death he call'd for a Pen, and wrote this Verse;

Pestis eram vivus; moriens, ero mors tua, Papa;

Which was part of the *Inscription* on *Luther's Effigies*, set up by the *Duke of Saxony* over his Tomb. He began to preach and write in the thirty fourth Year of his Age, *A. D.* 1517, and so he continued writing and preaching about twenty nine Years, and died in his *Climacteric Year*, *A. D.* 1546.

But to return back; God having rais'd up this eminent Person to amend and reform this Age, and to give a Check to the Corruptions of Popery, he likewise put it into the Hearts of some Princes and Great Men to espouse the same Cause; among whom the *Duke of Saxony* was the chief. At the Diet at *Augsburg* in the Year, 1530, in the Time of the Emperor *Charles V.* the *German* Princes exhibited a Confession of Faith drawn up by *Philip Melancthon*, and some other moderate Divines, with a solemn *Protestation*, because of that perilous Time: Whence, as some think, they and all others afterwards, that embrac'd the *Augustan Confession*, had the Name of *Protestants*. But others, and more probably, think (as *Sleidan* relates) that *Protestants* were call'd so from the *Protestation* made at the Diet of *Spire*, *A. D.* 1529, by the Princes of *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, *Lunenbourg*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, &c. together with some Free States of *Germany*, against the Decrees made by other Princes and States of that Empire about the Popish Points and Doctrines; at which time they appeal'd to the Emperor. Hence the Name of *Protestant* came, and was afterwards applied to all that renounc'd Popery, and were Friends of the Reformation.

At the same time with *Luther*, or thereabouts, there were other Reformers of Religion, as *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, &c. in *Switzerland*. The former of these, who was the most conspicuous, was a Canon of the Church of *Zurich*, and appear'd against the Corruptions of *Rome* a Year before *Luther* did the same in *Germany*. He prevail'd with five of the thirteen Cantons to entertain his Doctrine; and the Reformation was entirely receiv'd at *Zurich*, in the Year 1523. It is true, the *Zuinglians* and *Lutherans* did not agree among themselves about the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: for the former held, that it is only a Commemoration of Christ, but the latter were of Opinion that Christ's Body is really in the Sacrament. But tho' the Difference between them, especially at that time, was very unhappy, yet we make a very good Use of it, and thence assure ourselves, that both Parties set about the Reformation with sincere and uncorrupt Designs. It is an Argument, that these Reformers did not confer Notes; that there was no such thing as human Contrivance and Compact among them. For if there had been any thing of this Nature, they would have taken care to hold the same things exactly; they would have provided that there should be no Dissention among them. And moreover, this is to be remember'd, (which shews they were not so divided as not to attend to an Accommodation) that both Parties (as well *Zuinglians* as *Lutherans*) subscribed to the *Augustan Confession*, and did not insist upon their particular Sentiments and Persuasions. And altho' God was pleased to let these Religious Men disagree (as *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and other holy Men in the Primitive Times) yet they all united in the main, in the opposing of the growing Tyranny of the Papal Adversaries. Whatever their Disagreements were on other Accounts (which they were not so well inform'd in, in those early Times of Reformation) they all entirely agreed to reject and withstand the Corruptions of *Rome*, and the Superstitions and False Doctrines of that Church.

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From *Germany* and *Helvetia* the Reformation pass'd to other Countries, as *Sweden*, in the Year of our Lord 1525; and to *Piedmont* and *Geneva*, about the Year 1532. Particularly the latter of these was converted to the Protestant Religion by two Ministers of *Piedmont*, whose Names were *Farel* and *Viret*. Four Years after this *Calvin* came hither; the Famous *Calvin*, who with indefatigable Pains promoted the Protestant Religion and Interest. A Year after, viz. A. D. 1537, *Denmark* received the Reformed Faith and Religion. Soon after this the Reformation was spread into *France*, some Parts of *Poland*, the *Low-Countries*, especially *Holland*, some Part of *Hungary* and the adjoining Provinces: and even in *Italy*, *Zancky* and *Peter Martyr* endeavour'd to propagate the Principles of the Reformed Religion. And I should next more particularly and distinctly shew how this great Blessing was introduc'd into our own Nation.

But before I do that, I will shew how busy the Church of *Rome* was in preventing and hindring the farther Increase of the Reformation; and, if it were possible, to retrieve what had been lost from her, and to regain the Countries which had revolted from her. Indeed it was Time for the Pope and Conclave to look about them, and to study what Methods should be used to support the *Roman Cause*, when there was so great Opposition made against it; and that not only in *Germany* (of which I have chiefly spoken hitherto) but in other Countries. Accordingly under Pope *Paul III.* the Order of the *Jesuits* was erected by *Ignatius Loyola*, a *Spanish* Soldier, and was design'd to be a Prop to Popery, and an Antidote against the Poison of the Reformation. This Society consists of three Ranks of Persons; first, Lay-People, Gentlemen and Ladies, Merchants, Widows, who associate with that Order, and live under its Government, in the Performance of *Blind Obedience*. Secondly, Priests and Laymen, that take the Habit of the Society on them, and are call'd *Jesuits in Vow*. Thirdly, Politick Jesuits, who

govern the rest of the Order, and are call'd *Father-Jesuits*. The most considerable Persons of this Society are the Vassals of the *Roman See*, ready to undertake any thing enjoin'd by their Superiors. They are the *Triarii* in the *Roman Army*, who bear the *Brunt* of the Battle. They are the true *Proteus's* that turn themselves into any Shape, and can fashion themselves to any Conversation of Men, to dive into their Designs. Their Talent lies much in supplanting of Nations and Churches, and their Contrivances are deep and secret, and they *work under Ground*; (and therefore it was not an improper Punishment to send them to the *Mines*, as one of the *Swedish Kings* order'd concerning any *Jesuits* that should be seized in his Kingdom.)

Another effectual way to stem the Torrent of the Reformation was thought to be a *General Council*; and accordingly a Council was conven'd at *Trent*, *A. D.* 1546. which was about thirty Years after *Luther* first appear'd against Popery. It was held under three Popes successively; *Paul III.* *Julius III.* and *Pius IV.* and it lasted eighteen Years. But it did by no means deserve the Name of a *General Council*; for no Bishops from *Germany*, *France*, *Sweden*, *Poland*, *Helvetia*, *Denmark*, *England*, or *Scotland*, were at this Assembly. There were not the three *Eastern Patriarchs*, namely of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. None of the Representatives of the Churches of *Grecia*, *Armenia*, *Persia*, *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, the *Abyssines*, or the *Indians* were there. It consisted of not above threescore Bishops, and forty ordinary Divines; tho' at the End above two hundred Bishops, most of them *Italians*, were pour'd in, to determine the Points that had been debated. Besides, this Council was not rightly call'd, and therefore was null: For it always belong'd to Emperors and Kings, not to Popes, to convene Councils. And farther, the Pope was not to preside in it, (as he did) for he was a Party. And moreover, *Trent* was not a free Place at that time for discussing

discussing of Truth. In short, both from Father *Paul* and Cardinal *Palavicini* it appears, that the Council of *Trent* was pack'd, and Things were carried on with Design, and a prevailing Faction did all. There was no free Debate, for they were aw'd and frighten'd by the Pope, to whom they had taken an Oath of Obedience in all Things. In short, the *Portmantle* that came weekly from *Rome* decided all; and upon that Account it must be expected, that the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome* should be favour'd by it.

And so they were, yea, and more than favour'd; for they were ratified and establish'd. The Doctrine of *unwritten Traditions*, viz. that *they are to be receiv'd and entertain'd with the same Piety and Reverence that the Scriptures are*, was first of all asserted by the Fathers of this Council, *Sess. 4. The Number of the Canonical Books* of the Old Testament is new, and was not reckon'd up by them, as 'twas of old by the antient Church of the *Jews*, and by *Athanasius*, *Epiphanius*, *Jerome*, and by the Council of *Laodicea*, *Can. 59*. It was never so made up, 'till the Council of *Trent* determin'd it, *Sess. 4*. The Doctrines of *Merit*, *Supererogation*, *Purgatory*, &c. were not determin'd 'till now, by a Council that bore the Name of *Œcumenical*. Now they are defin'd to be the Catholic Doctrines of the *Roman Church*, and all are *Anathematiz'd* that own them not. Here are now Twelve new Articles of Faith added to the Creed: that it may not be complain'd, that there is not a full and complete Draught of *Popery*. Now the Popish Religion is not the Doctrine of *Bellarmino*, or any private Man, nor of the *Sorbonne*, or *Jesuits*, or the *Dominicans*, or any particular Company and Society: But the Doctrine of the *Council of Trent* is that which must decide and conclude all. And as for the Redress of other Mischiefs, such as relate to the Life and Manners of Men, especially of the Clergy, the Council would not hearken to it, although the Bishop of

Bitontum and *Bartholomew Caranza* in their Speeches in that Assembly, pathetically set forth the corrupt State of *Rome*, and earnestly cried aloud for a Reformation.

But I must go back again, and pursue my design'd Method. Having seen how the *Reformation* went on abroad, and how the Church of *Rome* endeavour'd to obstruct it, yea to quash and confound it, I will now (according to what I propounded) shew how the *Reformation* began, and proceeded at *Home*. And here I shall not only give an Account of the Rise and Progress and several Advances of the Reformation in *England*, but likewise prove the *Lawfulness* of it. In the Year 1509, King *Henry VIII.* came to the Crown, who was eminent for his great Parts, and for his acquir'd Endowments: He was a very learned Prince, after the rate of Learning then. After he had been above twenty Years on the Throne, God made use of him as a fit Instrument to reject the Papal Authority here in *England*. The Pope's whole Jurisdiction and Power over this Church and Nation were in a full Parliament of all the Lords Spiritual as well as Temporal declared null, and the King of *England* was own'd and receiv'd to be by antient Right in all Causes over all Persons, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, *Supreme Head and Governour*. And likewise the King obtain'd of his Bishops and Clergy in their Convocation to be acknowledg'd Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of *England*. And then first of all, at a Convocation, the Points of Religion began to be alter'd, which were contain'd in a little Book, that came forth, call'd *Articles devised by the King's Highness to stabliss Christian Quietness and Unity, &c.* In the same Year Injunctions came out, for the abrogating of certain *Holy-days*; and afterwards other Injunctions against the superstitious Use of *Images, Reliques, Pilgrimages*; and, according to these Injunctions, many Images were pull'd down. At this time was the utter Ruin of *Abbies and Monasteries*, by the special

special Motion of the Lord *Cromwell*, who favour'd the Protestant Cause. It is not to be denied, that the Number of *Religious Houses* (as they call'd them, tho' for the Vices practis'd in them they deserv'd a contrary Name) were increas'd to a great Excess, so that *England* seem'd to be one great Monastery. The Revenues of these Places amounted to a hundred and eighty three thousand and seven hundred and seven Pounds and thirteen Shillings a Year; all which Income was generally spent by those that had a great hand in upholding the Corruptions and Superstition of the Church, and who by their idle and dissolute Living encourag'd and even authoriz'd Wickedness. Hereupon there justly followed a *general Dissolution of Abbies*, and a Suppression of the *Orders of Friars, Monks and Nuns*, *A. D.* 1538, and in the 30th Year of *Henry VIII.* He erected six new Bishopricks, with Canons and Prebends out of this Dissolution: But if the whole Revenue had been laid out in unexceptionable Works of Piety and Charity, it would have been a more signal Proof of that Prince's good Intentions, and would have redounded to the Credit of his Undertaking. But we are not able to judge of the Circumstances he was in at that Juncture, and therefore it becomes us to be sparing in our Censures. This we know, that pursuant to certain *Injunctions* Children were to be taught the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments in the *English* Tongue, and an *English Bible* was to be provided for every Church. And accordingly in this King's Days the Bible was turn'd into *English* by the Care and Oversight of *Miles Coverdale*, and was allow'd of, and order'd to be set up in Churches, but not commanded to be read, as Part of the Service. The *Liturgy* still remain'd in the *Latin* Tongue, except only the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments (as was hinted before) and the *Epistle* and *Gospel* were rehearsed in the Church in *English*. And afterwards the *Litany* was translated into the same Tongue.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding these Alterations, the *Great Doctrines* of the Church of *Rome* still were upheld, and that with great Severity: For a Parliament and Convocation met *A. D.* 1540, wherein it was made Heresy and Death to deny any of those *Six Articles*, viz. 1. After the speaking of the Words of Consecration by the Priest, the Real and Natural Body and Blood of Christ are in the Sacrament, and the Substance of Bread and Wine vanishes, and is no more. 2. The Communion in both kinds is not necessary to Salvation by the Law of God to all Persons. 3. Priests, after Orders receiv'd, may not marry by the Law of God. 4. Vows of Chastity ought to be observ'd by the Laws of God. 5. Private Masses are to be admitted and continued. 6. Auricular Confession must be retain'd and frequented by the People, as of Necessity to Salvation. *Thomas Cranmer*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, endeavour'd to hinder the passing and enacting these Articles, yet he was not able to prevent it; and several People were hurried to the Flames, because they would not consent to them. It was an amazing Sight, in those Times, to see in the same Day *Papists* and *Protestants* suffering at the Stake; The latter for denying the *Real Presence*; and the former for denying the *King's Supremacy*. But afterwards these Articles were qualified by the Parliament, and the bloody Penalty annex'd to them was taken off, and Men began to form other Conceptions concerning these Points of Religion. This is a brief Account of the Advance of the Reformation in *England* in King *Henry's* Time. In *Doctrinals* there was scarcely any Alteration in his Reign: but in *Forms of Worship* there was some. One of the main Ingredients of Popery was abolish'd, viz. the *Pope's Supremacy*; yea all the Papal Authority and Jurisdiction ceased in *England*.

It must be acknowledg'd, that this was a very great and wonderful Blow given to the *Roman Religion*, and which led the Way to that surprizing Change which

which follow'd it. The more worthy and admirable therefore was this Performance, tho' the Popish Writers take a great deal of Pains to misrepresent it, and to render it an impious and wicked one, and thence take occasion to vilify and condemn the whole *Reformation*. They tell us, that Protestancy had its Ingress into *England* by *Henry VIII.*'s Affection to *Anne of Bullen*, and his Desire to be divorc'd from his Queen *Catherine*, which the Pope would not permit, and therefore he renounc'd him; he divorc'd himself from that Lady and the Pope at once. This is the true Account, say they, of the Reformation in *England*. But if any unprejudic'd Person will with Sobriety and Seriousness weigh the following Particulars, he'll find that there is no Ground from what is suggested to think ill of the *Reformation*. For,

I. King *Henry*'s Demands and Complaints cannot be denied to be just and reasonable, if we consider that he alledg'd that he had liv'd a long time in a known Sin, carnally knowing her that had been his own Brother's Wife; and therefore he desir'd now to be divorc'd from her. And it was then the Decision of all the Universities and Divines both at Home and Abroad, that the Marriage was unlawful (tho' dispensed with by Pope *Julius II.*) and therefore a Divorce could not be so.

II. The King truly alledg'd, that by this means he had no true Heir to inherit the Crown. Which was suggested by the Emperor, who had promis'd to marry the Lady *Mary*, (afterwards Queen :) He question'd her Legitimacy, because begotten on King *Henry*'s Brother's Wife. This perhaps first put the King upon disliking the Marriage, and at last disclaiming the Queen.

III. The King was very fair in his Procedure. He first consulted the then present Pope (*Clement VII.*) and meekly submitted the Matter to him about the Divorce. He waited two Years for his Decision, and had had the Divorce allow'd by the Pope, but that 'twas thought *Anne of Bullen* would be his Wife, who

who was inclin'd to the *Reformed* Religion. This put a Stop to all; for, before this was suspected, things were in a hopeful way of succeeding. Now, it cannot but be granted that the King had Reason to be extraordinarily provok'd and incens'd by such Behaviour as this: And therefore the *Romanists* have no Reason to make mention of this Delay and Denial about the Divorce.

IV. The King did as other Princes in other Catholic Churches have done; yea, as our own Kings have done before. For they began to understand their Interest and Right, and to see how their Predecessors had been abused by the former Popes; and therefore they began to take Courage, and to resent their Dealings with them, and openly to withstand and oppose them, and at the same time to weaken and diminish the Power of the aspiring Clergy, who always were on the Pope's Side. In King *Edward I.*'s Time, the Statute of *Mortmain* was made, to check the excessive Wealth and Avarice of Churchmen. This Prince withstood the Pope's Bulls, and withheld the *Petevence*, and forbad the other Exactions of *Rome*. The Priories and all Monasteries within the Diocese of *Canterbury* were seiz'd by him (as afterwards they were suppress'd by King *Henry V.*) and in a Word, this valiant King, tho' a thorough Papist, shew'd himself averse to the Incroachments of the *Roman* See. And afterwards, in the Reigns of King *Edward III.* and *Henry IV.* and *Henry VI.* the Pope's Jurisdiction and Supremacy were declining apace: And at last King *Henry VIII.* utterly cashier'd the Authority of the Pope in *England*, and settled the Supreme Jurisdiction in himself. It is certain, that other Kings before would have gone as far as he, and would have rescued themselves and their People from the Tyranny of *Rome*, if they had had the Spirit and Resolution of this King. This is plain from the several Attempts which they made; but they had not Courage to go through with them. And as to this very Act of King
Henry,

Henry, in disowning the Pope's Authority, &c. it is most probable that it would have been effected about that time, tho' King *Henry* had not forsaken his Wife. For what generous Mind would endure to be so plagued, so cow'd, so crush'd, so enslav'd, as Princes were at that time, and long before, by the *Roman* Pontiffs? It was intolerable that the Sovereign Power of Kings should be expos'd to the Will of the Pope. It would have exasperated a milder Prince than King *Henry* to be used after that manner, and in a Case that was reasonable and lawful. Here then was Occasion sufficient to defy the Pope's Authority, and utterly to disown it.

V. Suppose we should grant, that the King did not begin the Reformation on a *good* and *laudable* Occasion; or that some in the next succeeding King's Reign did not carry it on upon *good* Designs; yet it doth not follow thence that the Reformation itself was unlawful. No certainly: For,

1. There may be a bad Occasion of a Good Action. It was God's antient Purpose to give the *Jews* a King; it was ever his Intention to settle the Kingdom in *Judah*, and therefore the thing was lawful: But the Occasion of performing this Decree and Purpose was from the Murmuring and Discontent of the People, which was unlawful. The Humour of being like other Nations excited them to desire a King: Their affecting of Innovation, their curious Appetite, and itching after Alterations made them long for a new Government. But God took Occasion from this and the People's sinful murmuring to erect that Monarchy which he before design'd, and therefore we may be sure 'twas good. So here, if we should suppose that this King's throwing off the Pope's Authority took its Rise from some undue Spring and Cause, yet we can't infer thence, that the Thing itself is unlawful.

2. A Bad Man, or one that acts upon ill Designs, may undertake a good Work. *Jehu* was moved by
God

God to destroy Idolatry, and 'twas a good Work in itself, tho' his Aims were ill. Say that *Henry VIII.* was a very bad Man, and a lewd Prince (though I think it may truly be said that he was not so lustful as the Papists represent him to be, for he continued a Widower two Years together after the Death of the Lady *Jane Seymour* : He lay six Months by a young Lady, *Anne of Cleve*, and touch'd her not. And we are to remember, that the publick Stews in *Southwark* and on the *Bank-side* were put down by him, whilst his *Holiness* then kept them up at *Rome*, as his Successors ever since have done, and have a considerable Revenue out of those Schools of Lewdness. And lastly, it must be said, that King *Henry* was a chaste and continent Man, in comparison of several of the *Popes*.) But say that this Prince was a bad Man, say that the Reformation in *England* was begun by him out of no good Principle; not from Conscience, but from Lust : Say that he did it to be reveng'd on the Pope, because he would not comply with his Desires : Say this, and more if you will ; and yet it may as truly be said, that sinister Ends and evil Intentions do not hinder the Action from being materially good. The Reformation itself is good and lawful, notwithstanding the ill Principle on which some may think it commenc'd.

3. The Wisdom and Goodness of the Almighty do eminently appear in the Follies and Miscarriages of Men ; that is, he makes them tend to Good ; and he produces excellent Effects by them ; as we see in *Jacob's* supplanting his Brother. *Rahab's Faith* was accompanied with a *Lie* ; tho' she *believed*, yet she used *Fraud* and *Falshood* : And that Falshood was made most signally instrumental to the Good of God's People. And many other Instances the Scripture affords us, wherein the wise Disposal of God is seen in causing the greatest Good to arise out of something that is very evil. This is easily applicable to the present Case.

4. I am not backward to assert, that *God's extraordinary Hand* was in this Matter, and therefore it is unreasonable and vain to find fault with the Instrument, and what was done by it. I question not, but what he effected was in part the fulfilling of that remarkable Prophecy in *Rev. xvii. 13, 16. The Horns (i. e. the Kings of the Earth) who give their Power and Strength to the Beast, shall afterwards hate the Whore, and shall make her desolate and naked.* For it is added, *God hath put in their Hearts to fulfil his Will, and to agree, and give their Kingdom to the Beast, until the Words of God shall be fulfilled, i. e. 'till that Time comes, which was foretold by God and his Prophet John, viz. when they shall hate the Whore, &c.* This King, it is well known, gave his Power and Strength to the Beast, (as other Kings did;) he wrote against *Luther*, and for that had the Title of *Defender of the Faith* conferr'd on him; yet now he disowns his Power, and that openly; now he hates the Whore of *Babylon*, and with great Heat and devouring Zeal he abolishes her Kingdom here, which is meant by [*eating her Flesh, and burning her with Fire.*] This without doubt *God put into his Heart*; and therefore this is the Lord's doing, and should be marvelous in our Eyes. None, that hath read the sacred History, doubts whether *Jehu* was stirr'd up by God himself to do what he did, viz. to cut off *Ahab*, and destroy *Baal's* Priests, and to extirpate Idolatry: So here we have Reason to believe, that it was an extraordinary Work of God upon the King's Heart to undertake and accomplish this great Affair: And he was fitted for it by that martial, fiery, and undaunted Spirit, which he was endued with. It was design'd by Heaven, and it was predicted by the Messengers of the Most High, that *Babylon* should fall; and accordingly this great and magnanimous Prince (as well as others) was raised up for that Purpose. Thus it appears, that the great and loud Outcries of the *Roman* Catholicks against this great Monarch, and at the

in some things belonging to the Church. But by his dying so soon this was prevented, and the Reformation retarded; which was a great Unhappiness to our Church. It is no Wonder to hear **Dr. Heylin* say, *He cannot reckon the Death of King Edward VI. for an Infelicity to the Church of England: Tho' Superstition and Idolatry were brought back by his Death, tho' Persecution and Slaughter were the Effect and Consequence of it, yet it was no Infelicity.*

Before I pass to the Eclipse of the Reformation and the Restoring of Popery (in the next Princess's Reign) I will here attempt to satisfy the Reader concerning the *Reasonableness, Justice, and Lawfulness* of what hath been done. For the *Romanists* cry out against us with open Mouth for making an Alteration in Religion, and for rejecting the Doctrines and Rites of the Church of *Rome*; and for our doing so charge us with *Heresy* and *Schism*. They proclaim to the World, that we could not act without the Consent of the Universal Bishop; and who is that but the Bishop of *Rome*? They urge this, that we could not of our selves set on foot any Reformation, because we had no Authority to do it; and now having usurp'd such an Authority, we cannot answer it before God or Man. Yes: We can answer it to both, which I'll make appear from these two Things; first, *England might reform*: secondly, *England ought to reform*; and that *without the Consent of the Bishop of Rome*.

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*He makes it plain from History and Statutes, that before the Times of *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* the Kings of *England* had *Supreme Power* in all Temporal and Spiritual Matters whatsoever, and actually exerted that Power against the Popes upon Occasion, and defied their Bulls, Excommunications, Sentences, &c. tho' some Kings suffer'd the Popes to encroach upon them. And the same excellent Person hath as solidly asserted and vindicated the Rights and Power of the *National Senate*, or *Parliament*; (and when I mention that, I at the same time mention the Body of the *People*, who are represented in that Assembly) shewing, that it belongs to them to defend the Publick Rights of the Church and Kingdom; and therefore it was in their Power to recall them, when they were taken from them by the former Usurpation of *Rome*: and accordingly they unanimously recalled them.

And as to the *Church* in particular, it is well known what its Privilege is. This antient *British Church* is one of those, which by its Foundation, and by Force of the known Canon in the Council of *Ephesus*, in the Case of the *Cypriots*, is ἀποκρίματα, subordinate to no foreign Patriarch, and is invested with Power of its own, and can exert it as it shall see Cause. This Church was always placed without the *Suburbicaries* of the *Italian Diocese*, and consequently was neither subject to the *Roman*, nor any other foreign Jurisdiction: Which may also be gather'd from the different Observation of *Easter* of old, wherein the *Britons* conform'd themselves to the *Eastern*, not *Western* Church; they follow'd the Use of *Anatolius* the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch, and not the Use of the Bishop of *Rome*. And in other Things, especially the *Administration of Baptism*, which was different in its Rites from those of *Rome*, it appears (as Venerable † *Bede* our Countryman hath long since shew'd,

* Institut. 4th Part.

† Hist. Eccles. Brit.

the same time against the Lawfulness of the Reformation, are vain and groundless.

I proceed now to shew how the *Reformation* advanced in King *Edward's* Days. It may be, King *Henry VIII.* had not Thoughts of proceeding any farther; for his main Aim was at the *Supremacy*; but God the all-wise Disposer and Governor, who made use of him as the fittest Instrument to accomplish that particular Work, which we see already done, was pleased to bless this Church and Nation with a *Religious* and *Pious Prince*, that so he might begin, where the *other* left off. In his Father's Time tho' the Pope was renounced, yet the Doctrines, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome* were kept up and maintain'd. So true was that of * *Luther*, that King *Henry VIII.* had kill'd the Pope's Body (his *Supremacy* he meant,) but preserv'd his Soul, *i. e.* his false Doctrines. But now both the Soul and Body of Popery are destroy'd by this godly Prince. In the first Year of his Reign, *A. D.* 1548, he call'd a Parliament, in which all Acts and Statutes, in any wise concerning Religion and Opinions, and the Punishments belonging to them, were utterly repeal'd and made void. Accordingly the Six Articles were rescinded; the Laws concerning the Prohibition of Priests Marriages are null'd; Masses were forbid; the Communion in both kinds was commanded to be administred; Altars were order'd to be taken down, and the Table, instead of them, set up. The King's Council order'd that no Candles should be born upon *Candlemas-day*, nor *Asbes* used in *Lent*, nor Palms on *Palm-Sunday*; that all Images should be taken out of Churches; that the Bible should be read publicly as Part of the divine Service; that Sermons should be preached, and Homilies should be composed, and then read to the People in the Churches, when there was no

Sermon. Both the *Parliament* and *Council* embraced and confirm'd the *Protestant Religion*, and took the Name of *Protestants* upon them. The Corruptions, Superstitions, and Innovations of the Church of *Rome* were abolish'd, as far as the Times would permit. Religion flourish'd, good Bishops were chosen, and bad ones ejected, the Banish'd return'd home; Learned Men were sent for from abroad, as *Peter Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, *Paulus Fagius*; of whom the first taught at *Oxford*; the other two at *Cambridge*.

Now the whole *Liturgy* appear'd in *English*, entituled, the *Book of Common-Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the Use of the Church of England*. It was compos'd by Seven Bishops and Four other Clergymen, and confirm'd by the Convocation which then sat, and by Act of Parliament, by which it was commanded to be read in Churches. About four or five Years after, some Exceptions being made against some Things in this Form of Publick Worship by *Calvin*, *Peter Martyr*, and *Bucer*, there was an Alteration made, and another Edition put out. And good Reason there was for it; because Praying for the Dead was enjoin'd in the first Service-Book of King *Edward*, in the Close of the Form of Bidding of Prayer, where it is said, *Ye shall pray for all them that are departed out of this World in the Faith of Christ*, which since hath been turn'd into a Thanksgiving. In this pious King's Reign a new Translation of the Bible was publish'd, and order'd to be read over yearly as Part of the Service. In the last Year of his Reign, *Articles of Religion* were agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy in Convocation, and authorized by the King. They were forty two in Number, afterwards reduced to thirty nine, when Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown. To conclude, it is not to be doubted, that if King *Edward* had lived longer, there would have been a greater Progress in matters of Religion, and a farther Alteration

in some things belonging to the Church. But by his dying so soon this was prevented, and the Reformation retarded; which was a great Unhappiness to our Church. It is no Wonder to hear *Dr. Heylin say, *He cannot reckon the Death of King Edward VI. for an Infelicity to the Church of England: Tho' Superstition and Idolatry were brought back by his Death, tho' Persecution and Slaughter were the Effect and Consequence of it, yet it was no Infelicity.*

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insisting on this very thing) that the *Britannick Church* was not dependent upon the Church of *Rome*. And this is farther clear (as the same antient Writer urges) from the *Britons* Rejection of *Augustin* the Monk, whom, tho' he was Legate of *Gregory* Bishop of *Rome*, and sent to convert the *Saxons*, and to preside over the *British* Church, all the *British Bishops* refused to acknowledge for their Archbishop. They would by no means be brought to this, telling him that they ow'd Subjection to their own Patriarch, and none other; particularly and expressly they said, not to the *Bishop of Rome*. But they paid dearly for their Refusal: For by this haughty Legate's Instigation twelve hundred Monks were slaughter'd at *Bangor*; a *Beginning* suitable to his Progress afterwards. But this is undeniable, that the *British Bishops* would by no means submit to *Austin*, letting him know that it was against the Custom and Privileges of the *British Church*, which was always free from the Pope's Jurisdiction.

Thus it is evident, that *England* had Power to make that Reformation, which we are speaking of, *England* being an *Island* as well I may say in *Religion*, as *Situation*, cut off from the *Continent* of other Churches, and enjoying Privileges entire to itself: and would have done so always, if the Popes had not encroach'd by Degrees upon them, and without Reason usurp'd them. Now the Design of the *Reformation* was to abrogate this Usurpation of *Rome*, and to retrieve the antient Immunities and Jurisdictions of the Church and State, to let the World see that the Kings of *Britain* are not (as the *Romanists* brag) *Feudataries* of the See Apostolick, and consequently subject to the Pope in Spiritual and Temporal Things. King *Henry VIII.* and King *Edward VI.* did but restore the *Britannick Churches* to the antient Liberty they enjoy'd in the primitive Times of the antient *Oecumenic Councils*; and in this they did rightly. Nay, it is certain, that the Church Restitution was transacted in the twenty fourth Year of the Reign of *Henry VIII.* with the
express

express Consent of the *English Clergy* (then *Popish*,) a Synod of whom was the lawful Ecclesiastical Tribunal of the *English Nation*. And again, under King *Edward VI.* in the first Year of his Reign, the Reformation of the Church was determined and settled, not only by the Regal Authority and the Parliament, but by the *Convocation*. So that the Church of *England* was reform'd by all that Authority, which was lawful and justifiable.

Farther, it might be prov'd, that *England* may by the Assistance of the Supreme Power reform itself, because it is a distinct Part of the Christian World; and the *Roman Church* is no more. There are besides the Church of *Rome* other Churches; viz. the *Greek Church* under its four Patriarchs; the *Russian Church*; the *Ethiopian* or *Abyssine*, the *Nestorian*, *Armenian*, and *Georgian Churches*. The whole *Greek Church* is greater and wider than that of *Rome*. And the *Protestant Churches* in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and the *Plantations* belonging to *Britain*; those in *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Transylvania*, *Walachia*, *Moldavia*, the *Dutch Territories* and their *Plantations*, *Germany*, *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, *Piedmont*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, are almost equal to the *Roman Churches*: Which shews how unjust it is for these latter to arrogate to themselves a Power and Jurisdiction over the rest; how justifiable it is for the *Greek* or the *Protestant Churches* to regulate Matters Ecclesiastical within themselves, and to make what Reformation they please in their own Territories. Thus I have prov'd, that *England might reform*; and by Consequence it was not unlawful for her to do it.

Secondly, *England ought to reform*. For the Case in short is this; If the Conditions of Communion with a Church be unlawful, then 'tis unlawful to communicate with her; but the Church of *Rome* imposeth unreasonable and unlawful Conditions of Communion, Therefore it is unlawful to communicate with her, and (which necessarily follows from that) it is

lawful to separate from her. This was the Case of *our Church*, and of other *Protestant Churches*. *Rome* imposed on us under Pain of Excommunication a Necessity of professing known Errors, and practising known Corruptions: so that in communicating with the Church of *Rome*, we were forc'd to communicate with her Errors and vicious Practices. What Casuist, but a *Roman* one, will deny that Separation is justifiable upon these Terms? This is our Case in reference to the Church of *Rome*. If we communicate with her in her Doctrines and Worship, we partake of her Errors and Superstition, and confirm the false Worshipers in their Sin. And suppose their Errors and Practices were not of a damnable Nature, yet if we believe the Church of *Rome* to be in Error, and yet profess the contrary, it is damnable Hypocrisy. And to believe it, and to profess the contrary, can't be allow'd in that Communion: Therefore we must act against our Knowledge and Conscience. The Short then is, that we are oblig'd to quit that Communion in which we can't remain without hypocritical Profession of those Things which we are convinced to be erroneous and unlawful.

This shews that the Cause was just, which made our Forefathers forsake the Communion of *Rome*: This is a Demonstration that the Separation of *Protestants* from the *Roman Church* is not *Schismatical*, but is founded on just and necessary Grounds. And besides, as was suggested before, the *British Church* was not under any Obligation to adhere to the Dictates of *Rome*; but she was bound to maintain her antient Right and Liberty, that is, her Primitive Exemption from the Patriarchate of *Rome*. Thus She ought to reform, whether you consider the Equity and Reasonableness of her asserting her Privileges and Rights, or whether you have Respect to her positive Duty of forsaking a corrupted Church. The Errors and Practices of the *Roman Church* being grown so intolerable, and the Yoke so insupportable, there
was

was a Necessity of an universal Reformation; and in order to that a free and open Declaration against the Abuses in that Church. I will conclude with Mr. *Chillingworth's** Answer to those who objected that the *Reformers* had no Commission from the Church to preach against the Abuses in it, and to attempt an Alteration; *No Man*, saith he, *wants a Commission from God to do a necessary Work of Charity, when there is no Body else that can, or will do it. In extraordinary Cases, extraordinary Courses are not to be disallow'd.*

And now we must turn aside to see how the *Reformation* was eclipsed for a little time, and how (by God's just Permission) *Popery* lifted up its Head again. Queen *Mary* ascending the Throne, the Act of the Pope's Supremacy pass'd in the Parliament. The Ecclesiastical Laws in *Henry VIII.*'s Days are reversed; the Statutes in *Edward VI.*'s Days are repeal'd; the married Clergy are displaced; the Ceremonies, before abolish'd, are restor'd; the old superstitious Worship is re-establish'd: The Queen's Council consented to the restoring of Abbey-Lands, the Queen having desired it. Soon after came the Pope's Bull to that Purpose, excommunicating all that would not restore the Lands to the Church. And thus *Popery* was revived; but behold! on a sudden Queen *Mary* is removed, and with her the Popish Religion.

In the first Year of her Successor Queen *Elizabeth*, (which was the Year of our Lord 1558.) the Alteration of Religion was enacted by Parliament, Protestantism was restored, and the Publick Liturgy was reform'd. The *Articles of Religion* which were first drawn up, as to the main Parts and Contents of them, and agreed on in a Convocation, *A. D.* 1552, in King *Edward's* Reign, were now re-establish'd in this Queen's Reign, *A. D.* 1562. *i. e.* four Years after she came to the Throne: And they were ratified again by the Authority of the Queen and of the Cler-

* Preface to the Author of *Charity maintain'd.*

gy, in the Year 1571. Now the Popish Doctrines were frequently writ against by Learned Men, and the contrary ones asserted and defended by them: And the *Roman* Catholicks were check'd and suppress'd every where.

And yet here it must not be omitted that this Queen was strongly affected to the *Crucifix* and *Lighted Tapers*, and retain'd them a long time in her Chapel against the Exhortations of some of the Bishops, and with great Difficulty parted with them at last. She was vehemently incensed against the Clergy, upon account of their being *Married*. She would never hear any Sermons but at *Lent*, and was inclin'd to favour the Popish Devotion; and that made the Bishops comply with her Will and Pleasure in some other things, lest she should take Offence, and be too favourable to her Popish Subjects. The Queen's best Protestant Subjects were but little regarded by her. She was strangely secure of her worst Enemies, the Papists, and fasten'd them within her Palace-Walls. All this is expressly related by Mr. *Strype* in the Life of Archbishop *Parker*; where he farther adds, that it appears from secret Letters between the Archbishop and the Lord *Burleigh*, in what Consternation those Great Men were, and how dangerous the Favour shew'd to the *Roman* Catholicks by the Queen was.

In the Beginning of King *James I.*'s Reign the Protestant Cause was much favour'd, and many worthy Prelates and other Divines both in their Sermons and Writings defended the Doctrine of the Church of *England* against that of *Rome*. And the thirty nine Articles (which are the great Test of the Protestant Doctrine of the Church of *England*, in Opposition to Popery) were confirm'd and put forth again, *A. D.* 1604. the second Year of this King's Reign. Yea, and his Majesty himself wrote against some Positions and Tenets of the Church of *Rome* with great Vigour and Zeal. But afterward out of Fear (which was a Passion that ruled him) he seem'd to comply with

with *Popery*, for his Safety. He began to relax the Penalties against *Papists*, which the Law required; he freed some of them from the Prisons they were in, and some of them were taken into Favour; and the *Popish Ceremonies* and *Doctrines* began to be countenanced. This was taken notice of by the Lower House of Parliament in their *Petition* and *Remonstrance* to the King, wherein they complain'd of the *Increase of Papists*, their *Insolencies*, and the *Encouragement* they had: And to frustrate their Hopes for the future, they petition'd, that the *Prince might be married to one of their own Religion*. But the King was displeas'd with this, and shew'd it by his Actions; for by his Order and Appointment to the great Ministers of Justice there was Favour shew'd to all *Recusants* throughout the Kingdom. This is not to be wonder'd at, seeing he was led by one whose Mother was led by *Rome* and *Jesuits*: And there are authentick Letters on Record that tell the World what Correspondence there was between his *Court* and *Rome*. To promote the Match between his Son *Charles* and the *Infanta*, both he and his Son did very strange things. * In the *Letter* which Prince *Charles* wrote to Pope *Gregory XV.* we see what Esteem he had for the *Roman Catholick Religion*: And in several *Concessions, Articles, and Propositions*, which both King and Prince subscrib'd and swore to, in Favour of the Cause; and in their absolute *Promises* of tolerating *Popery* in the three Kingdoms, we may see what Reason there was to suspect the Integrity of their Principles. And it is observable that in the Year 1622, in order to promote the Prince's Match with the *Infanta* of *Spain*, and to render themselves acceptable to the Church of *Rome*, they forbad the preaching of those *Calvinistical Doctrines*, which are commonly call'd the *Five Points*: They knew, that the discountenancing of these had some Influence on the Cause they were ad-

* See *Rushworth's Collections*,

vancing, because the *Roman* Catholicks abhor these Doctrines, and preach up the contrary with great Zeal and Vigour.

And afterwards, in the Terms of the Prince's Marriage with the *French* Lady this King shew'd his Inclination to Popery very visibly. The Archbishop of *Embrun* was sent hither by the *French* King, to dive into King *James's* Thoughts of the *Roman* Religion; who freely confess'd to him, that he had from his very Youth a good Opinion of it, and now resolv'd on a Toleration of it, and writ a Letter to the Pope, owning him to be Vicar of Jesus Christ, and expressing his good Will to the *Roman* Cause.

As to that Particular, namely, the granting of Papists a Toleration, it will appear evident, that the King was much disposed to it, and fully design'd it, if we peruse a Passage in a Letter written by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to his Majesty, which runs thus,
 “ Your Majesty hath propounded a Toleration of Religion : I beseech you, Sir, take into your Consideration, what the Act is ; next, what the Consequence may be. By your Act you labour to set up
 “ that most damnable and heretical Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Whore of *Babylon*. How
 “ hateful will it be to God, and grievous unto your good Subjects, the true Professors of the Gospel,
 “ that your Majesty, who hath often disputed and learnedly written against those wicked Heresies,
 “ should now shew yourself a Patron of those Doctrines, which your Pen hath told the World, and
 “ your Conscience tells yourself, are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable ? — What dreadful Consequences these things may draw after them, I beseech your Majesty to consider. And above all,
 “ lest by this Toleration, and Discontinuance of the true Profession of the Gospel, whereby God hath
 “ blessed us, and under which this Kingdom hath for many Years flourish'd, your Majesty do not draw
 “ upon the Kingdom in general, and yourself in particular,

“ ticular, God’s heavy Wrath and Indignation. Thus
 “ in Discharge of my Duty towards God, to your
 “ Majesty, and the Place of my Calling, I have ta-
 “ ken humble Boldness to deliver my Conscience.
 “ And now, Sir, do with me what you please.” A
 most remarkable Passage! which at once shews us the
 godly Zeal of this excellent Prelate, and the ill Dis-
 position of the King at that time. It is to be sus-
 pected, that he hated Popery, chiefly because it de-
 fended King-killing, and deposing of Crown’d Heads.
 He was a great Coward, and afraid of the Popish
 Princes; and therefore it is no Wonder, that the Pro-
 testant Interest decay’d under his Reign. To speak
 freely, we may from King *James I.*’s Reign date the
 designing of re-introducing Popery into *England*.

And I wish I could not add, that this Design was
 not carried on in his Successor’s Time, who in-
 courag’d those who favour’d some of the Popish Do-
 ctrines, and preferr’d such as seem’d to be Well-wish-
 ers to that Cause; which was one great Occasion of
 the *Civil Wars*. In the first Parliament conven’d in
 this King’s Time (which was in the first Year of his
 Reign) the Lords and Commons presented a Petition
 to him concerning *Religion*; in which they complain
 of the advancing of Persons to Places of Trust and
 Authority, who were ill-affected to the *Protestant*
 Faith. In the next Parliament (which was the Year
 after) the Commons began again with Matters of
 Religion, and express’d their Dislike of frequent Re-
 pries and Pardons granted to *Jesuits* and *Priests*. In
 the third Parliament, *A. D.* 1628. the Commons made
 great Complaints of the Invasions upon Religion (as
Baker in his *Chronicles* words it) by the Increase of
Popery and *Arminianism*. *They were much con-
 cern’d at the Innovations in Doctrine, Discipline and
 Government; at the swarming of Popish Priests, and

* See the *Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons* in the
 Year 1628, collected by Sir *Theo. Crew*.

the vast Encouragement given to Papists by the Suspension of the Laws made against them. And afterwards these Maladies increased more and more, and not only the Penalties on *Papists* were relax'd, but several of this Persuasion were preferr'd to Places of Dignity; and generally all the *Roman Catholicks* shew'd in the Air of their Countenances, in their Words, and in their Behaviour, that the Court had a good Inclination to them. This is own'd by the Lord *Clarendon*, who tells us that * [“ the Papists had for many Years enjoy'd a great Calm, being upon the Matter absolv'd from the severest Parts of the Law, and dispensed with for the gentlest, and were grown only a Part of the Revenue, without any probable Danger of being made a Sacrifice to the Law. They were look'd upon as good Subjects at Court, and as good Neighbours in the Country : All the Restraints and Reproaches of former Times being forgotten.”] This is enough to shew what Indulgence *Popery* had in this King's Reign. Now let us hear what Effects this Kindness produced; [“ They, that is, the Papists, (saith this Author) were transported with the Protection and Connivance they receiv'd; their Pomp and Boldness increased to that Degree, that, as if they affected to be thought dangerous to the State, they appear'd more publickly, entertain'd and urg'd Conferences more avowedly than had been before known. They resorted at common Hours to *Mafs* at *Somerfet-House*, and return'd thence in great Multitudes, with the same Barefacedness that others came from the *Savoy*, or other Neighbour Churches. — The Priests were departed from their former Modesty and Fear, and were as willing to be known, as to be hearken'd to : And for the Protection and Countenance of the whole Party, a publick Agent (or Nuncio) from *Rome* resided in *London* in great Port, pub-

* History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars, &c. Book 2.

“lickly visited the Court, and was caress’d, and presented magnificently by the Ladies of Honour who inclin’d to that Profession. — They made publick Collections of Money to a considerable Sum, upon some Recommendations from the Queen for carrying on the War against the *Scots*.”] And then he oddly concludes, [“They carried themselves so, as if they had been suborn’d by the *Scots* to root out their own Religion.”] A vain put off! Whereas their true Design was to set up their *Religion* under such a Patroness as the *Queen*, and under such Supporters as they knew they had at *Court*.

In the Parliament that met in 1640, the Persons who stood up and represented to the Senate the Grievances of the Nation, not only as to their Liberties and Properties, but as to their Consciences and Religion, and the imminent Danger they were in, with respect to the introducing of Popery, were * Men of known and unexceptionable Loyalty, and great Asserters and Admirers of the *Church of England* and its Constitution, and particularly of the Government by *Bishops*, which they defended in their publick Speeches: but yet at the same time being convinc’d of the Reality of those pernicious Designs which were then on Foot, they inveigh’d against the Encroachments that were made on *Religion*, and openly declared what Grounds the Nation had to believe that the Church of *Rome* was in great Favour with the *English* Governours and Rulers both in *Church* and *State*. The Lord Falkland had this Passage in his Speech, † *A little Search will serve to find the Prelates to have been the Destruction of Unity under pretence of Uniformity; to have brought in Superstition and Scandal under the Titles of Reverence and Decency; to have defiled our Church by adorning our Churches; to have slacken’d the Strict-*

* Falkland, Digby, Rudyard, Deering, &c.

† Rushworth’s Collections.

ness of that Union which was formerly between us and those of our Religion beyond the Seas, an Action as unpolitick as ungodly. We shall find them to have tithed Mint and Anise, and here left undone the weightier Works of the Law; to have been less eager upon those who damn our Church, than upon those who upon weak Consciences, and perhaps as weak Reasons (the Dislike of some commanded Garment, or some uncommanded Posture) only abstain'd from it. Nay, it hath been more dangerous for Men to go to some Neighbour's Parish, when they had no Sermon in their own, than to be obstinate and perpetual Recusants. While Masses have been said in Security, a Conventicle hath been a Crime. I have left out several severe and cutting Passages in this Lord's Speech, that the Reader might be convinc'd that I do not aggravate Things to the utmost Height. Yet this excellent Person was far from being a Hater of Episcopacy, or Bishops: He saith, *There are some of them have conduced in nothing to our late Innovations but in their Silence; some who have been learned Opposers of Popery, and zealous Suppressors of Arminianism.* He concludes, that the Order may stand, but the Abuses of it are to be taken away.

Sir Benjamin Rudyard in his Speech at the same time had these Words, **I do verily believe there are many of the Clergy in our Church who think the Simplicity of the Gospel too mean a Vocation for them to serve in: They must have a Specious, Pompous, Sumptuous Religion, with Additionals of temporal Greatness, Authority, Negotiation: Notwithstanding they all know better than I, what Fathers, Councils, Schoolmen are against this mixing themselves with Secular Affairs. This Roman Ambition will at length bring in the Roman Religion, and at last a haughty Insolence even against Supreme Power itself, if it be not timely and wisely prevented.* Yet this Gentleman was a Patron of Episcopacy, and spoke for it in that very Speech.

The Lord Digby in his Oration to the House the same Year spoke thus; * *Christ's Discipline hath been adulterated, and the whole Church inebriated by the Prelates.* Again; *I do not think that any People hath been ever more provoked than the Generality of England of late Years by the Insolences and Exorbitances of the Prelates.* He goes on; *I protest sincerely, saith he, I can't cast my Thoughts on the Practices of the Churchmen that have govern'd it of late, but they appear to me as a Scourge employed by God upon us, for the Sins of the Nation. The Vengeance of the Prelates hath been so laid, as if it were meant no Generation, no Degree, no Complection of Mankind should escape it.* Yet in the same Speech he speaks in Defence of Bishops and Episcopacy, and the Design of it was to oppose those in the House who were for taking Episcopal Government away.

That excellent and learned Knight Sir Edward Deering in his Speech afterwards in 1641, complain'd of † *Lordly Domineers, who play'd the Monarchs, perhaps the Tyrants, in a Diocese.* This kind of Episcopacy, saith he, *smells rank of the Papacy, nor shall you be ever able utterly and absolutely to extirpate Popery, unless you root out this Sole ship of Episcopacy.* But at the same time he proclaim'd his Esteem of Episcopacy, as 'tis antient and uncorrupted, and afterwards he refus'd to comply with the House against Episcopacy.

Thus 'tis evident, that those who have been the greatest Friends to this Government in the Church, have warmly and vehemently inveigh'd against the Corruptions of it; and that the wisest and most intelligent Persons were fully persuaded that there was a Design in those Times to make an Alteration in Religion, and to introduce Popery, and that the Prelates of that Age were forward in promoting it. They plainly discover'd, that there was no Place in the whole

* Rushworth's Collections. † Ibid.

Kingdom that did not groan under the Burden and Oppressions of those haughty and self-will'd Innovators. They saw that Popish Doctrines were every where maintain'd ; that Popish Rites and Ceremonies were commonly allow'd of ; and those Clergymen were most valued, who vehemently affected Pomp and outward Splendor in the Church, which were visible Fore-runners of the *Roman* Superstition, State and Grandeur. Those were advanc'd to Dignities in the Church, who were suspected for their Religion, and openly vilified the *Reformation*, and publish'd such Doctrines as were derogatory to the *Reformed Religion*. Able and Godly Ministers were abus'd and affronted : There was scarcely any Preacher that was diligent and constant in his Office but was discouraged, and sometimes silenced. The *Declaration* for *Sports on the Lord's-day* was partly design'd for this End, to eject the choicest and most conscientious Ministers in the Kingdom. It was a Crime to *preach* in the Afternoon on that Day, but not to *play* and *sport*. A Declaration came out (like that in King *James's* Reign) to stifle all Preaching about certain *Points of Divinity*, which were well known to be acceptable to those of the *Protestant* Persuasion, who had the greatest Aversion to *Popery*, and therefore they were forbidden to be Matter of popular Sermons. And all Prayers put up to God that were not Forms were derided ; and as for these latter, they magnified and urged them in such a manner, as 'twas plainly seen they intended to lay aside Preaching. There was not only a Check on the Preachers, but on the People. No Man could speak with Freedom, for Fear of the Prelates. The Repeating a Sermon and praying in a Man's own Family made him obnoxious to the Ecclesiastical Courts. Yea, one of the Bishops (as may be seen in his *Articles of Visitation*) forbade speaking of any religious Matters at Table.

All these and other Lines of the same Nature came from and lead to one Center, the Church of *Rome*, which

which keeps her Children blindfold, and vouches Ignorance to be the Mother of Devotion. Yet to blind yet more the Eyes of the People, it was told them constantly, that the Maintenance of the *Protestant Religion* was the only thing design'd: As if there were any so weak and senseless, as to believe that the *Reformed Protestant Religion* can be supported and advanc'd by the Help of those who have a good Opinion of, and Affection to, *Popery*. However, this was their Cry; and they endeavour'd to make People believe that all this Aberration from the Purity of the Christian Institution was the Religion of the Church of *England*, and so many were unwarily betray'd into a good Esteem of *Popery*, and thought themselves good Protestants, when they were not. The Factors for the Cause did artfully disguise their Aim and Design, and made several Feints to conceal it. Whilst they were hard at work in fetching in *Popery*, they would not suffer Men to give it that Name. Tho' it was the very Thing, yet it must not be call'd so. It was the studied Plot of the Party to sacrifice the *English* Church and Nation to their Bigotry and Fury; and the Reform'd Religion to that of *Rome*: the bold Attack was made on the whole Protestant Cause: and yet here was the Artifice of it, that tho' they were bringing the Nation back to *Popery*, yet they would not have it to be discern'd. To blind the Eyes of the People, some of the Ecclesiasticks prevail'd with themselves to draw their Pens against *some Part* of *Popery*, tho' at the same time they defended and promoted the main Design of it. Archbishop *Laud* and his Friends were not for that bigoted Sort of *Popery*, which asserts the Supremacy of the Pope, and gives him the Power to dispose of all Kingdoms as he pleases; for that would have been dangerous to the Clergy, and bring in *Italians* and other Foreigners to take their Benefices and Preferments from them: Thus the Romans would come, and take away their Place and Nation. But so far as these Men thought it safe and

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profitable,

profitable, they took up Popery ; that is, they espoused many of its Doctrines and Opinions ; they were for the Gaiety, Grandeur and Pomp, which accompanied the *Roman Religion* : They multiplied Hyper-canonical Ceremonies, and by these uncommanded Practices made Invasions on the Church of *England*, and under Pretence of raising it to its Height, they prepared the way by those extravagant Heights to the Church of *Rome*. In short, the Outworks were given up to *Rome* ; and whether the Castle itself could hold out long, let the unprejudiced judge. But their Art was seen in this, that Popery was to advance gradually, and by little and little. They knew it was safest to give it by Piece-meals. The *Roman Religion* must not be brought in by wholesale, but we were to have the several Portions of it by retail. The Nation was presented with some Parts of it in hand, but others were kept and preserv'd in *petto*. They were going in Pilgrimage to *Rome*, but 'twas advisable not to make too hasty Journeys.

But on they went, and with great Heart and Confidence, and were not asham'd : witness that bold Step, which is taken notice of even by the Lord *Clarendon*. Whereas the *German* and *French* Protestants that fled out of their Countries at the Beginning of the *Reformation*, and settled in *England*, were kindly receiv'd by King *Edward VI.* and Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James*, and had the free Use of Churches in *London* and other Places for the Exercise of their Religion, this Writer observes, that [“* When the
“ Power of Churchmen grew more transcendent, the
“ Bishops grew jealous that the countenancing of these
“ Foreigners would give some countenance to the
“ Factions and Schismatical Parties in *England* to
“ hope for such a Toleration] and accordingly restrain'd them, tho' *without the Consent of the Council-board*, as he adds : for, as he had said before,

* Book VI.

“ *The Faculties and Understandings of the Lay-Coun-*
 “ *sellors were dull, lazy and unactive,* and so suffer’d
 “ the Bishops to do what they pleased. He tells us
 “ farther, that [whereas in all former Times the Em-
 “ bassadors and all foreign Ministers of State employ’d
 “ from *England*, into any Parts where the Reformed
 “ Religion was exercis’d, frequented their *Churches*,
 “ gave all possible Countenance to their Profession,
 “ and held Correspondence with the most active and
 “ powerful Persons of that Relation, and particu-
 “ larly the Embassador Leiger at *Paris* had diligently
 “ and constantly frequented the Church at *Charenton*,
 “ and held a fair Intercourse with those of that Reli-
 “ gion throughout the Kingdom, the contrary to this
 “ was now with great Industry practis’d, and some
 “ Advertisements, if not Instructions, given to the
 “ Embassadors there, to forbear any extraordinary
 “ Commerce with the Men of that Profession.”]

He adds, that *these were great Errors committed by Churchmen*, but labours to excuse them, after he had expos’d them, as is his general way throughout his whole History. He freely lays open the Miscarriages of the Men of the Church of *England*, but usually dissembles the true Spring and Intent of them, and would sometimes persuade the Reader, that they proceeded from some pious Intentions and Aims. But it is plain and evident to those that are not resolv’d to foster Prejudice, that the Design of this new Practice, which I just now mention’d, was to discountenance the *Protestant Religion* and the *Professors* of it, which was thought then necessary in order to the setting up *another Persuasion and Religion*. This Historian observes, that this Conduct of the *Bishops* was very impolitick; but it doth the more conspicuously discover to us the flagrant Intentions, the vehement Resolves, and the violent and irresistible Endeavours of the Churchmen at that time to defame and reproach the Protestant Cause, and to bring in that Religion, which is contrary to it.

And who can doubt of the reality of this Design, if he calls to mind how fashionable it was in those Days not only to look towards *Rome*, but actually to go over to it, and embrace that Church? This was done by some of the eminent Divines, as well as others, of the Church of *England*, Dr. Goodman Bishop of *Glocester*, Dr. Baily, Dr. Fane, Dr. Goff, Sir Francis Windebank one of the Secretaries of State, and Archbishop *Laud's* intimate Friend, of whose Daughter Dr. *Turner*, afterwards Bishop and Nonjuror, was a Sprig. All the *Roman* Catholicks at this time expected a Change; they all relied upon it, and openly told the World as much. *Gordon* the Jesuit, in the Epistle to Cardinal *Richlieu* before his Commentaries of the Bible, spoke thus, *The reducing of Britain to the Roman Church is reserv'd to be the Effect of the Cardinal's most wise Counsels*; "Nec verò exiguus ad
 " fœlicem exitum referatus est aditus eo regnante mag-
 " no Britannico Principe, qui ad clementiam natus,
 " non modò ab infami illa Christiani sanguinis effu-
 " sione suos libenter continebit, sed exemplo tot maxi-
 " morum in Britannia regum ad unum illud facile pro-
 " pendeat, quod omni juris æquitate concedi debet,
 " liberam intelligo Dei colendi facultatem." He doubts not afterwards, that the Prudence of the Cardinal's Counsels will bring this noble Work to pass. This was in 1632.

From the *Publick Ministers* and *Officers* that were employ'd in that Reign we may gather no less. In the Beginning of it the *Duke of Buckingham*, who was the great Favourite of the King, and the first and principal Mover in all publick Transactions, lay under a just Suspicion of favouring that Cause which I have been speaking of, his Mother and Father in Law, and others of his near Relations being *Roman* Catholicks: Not to speak now of the broad Hints given by the Earl of *Bristol* in his *Articles* against this great Man.

Sir *Francis Windebank*, principal Secretary of State, by whom the greatest Affairs of the Kingdom were managed, was an *extraordinary Patron of the Papists*; as the Lord * *Clarendon* expressly owns; and mentions some plain Proofs of his excessive Kindness to the *Jesuits* and *Priests* of the Church of *Rome*. When this Minister of State saw that his Designs were laid open to the Publick, he made his Escape into *France*, and died there a *Roman Catholick*.

Another chief Minister and Favourite was Archbishop *Laud*, of whose being well affected to *Rome* there are abundant Proofs: some of which I have mentioned in † another Place, and if I repeat some of them here, I will make amends by adding others that were not mention'd. The Character which was given him by King *James* and Bishop *Hall* may encline us to believe that he was fit for the Cause which he prosecuted. The former (as we are || credibly inform'd) pronounc'd him to be of a restless Spirit; one that could not see when Matters were well, but lov'd to toss and change, and bring Things to a Pitch of Reformation floating in his Brain. The latter decipher'd him thus, even before he came to the Archbishoprick §; To Day he is in the Tenets of the Romanists; to morrow in ours; the next Day between both, against both: And at last we know where he settled. The Judgment of another great Man of unquestionable Integrity, viz. Dr. *Abbot*, *Regius* Professor of Divinity in *Oxford*, and afterward Bishop of *Sarum*, may be seen in *Heylin's* Life of the Archbishop, p. 66. My Lord *Clarendon* represents him as * *hasty and cholerick*, a Man of great Rage, self-will'd and headstrong; one † that did not value what Men said or thought of him. Which Character given him by this Historian (who

* Book III.

† The Preacher; the Second Part.

|| Bishop *Hacket* in the Life of Archbishop *Williams*.

§ Decad. 3. Epist. 5.

* Book I.

† Book II.

was his Friend) acquaints us how he was naturally fram'd and fitted to carry on that Work which he undertook, namely to make Alterations in the establish'd Religion of the Church of *England*.

And by such Methods as these which follow he endeavour'd to effect it by Degrees. First, he took care to beat down that *Position* which the Generality of *Protestants*, and those particularly of our own Church, had asserted, viz. that *the Pope is Antichrist*. This had been strenuously defended by the Clergy of the Church of *England*, Bishops as well as others; but it was voted by him and his Party to be Heterodox Doctrine; and those that asserted it were look'd upon with an evil Eye; but those that maintain'd the contrary were countenanc'd; as* he, who affirm'd in Print, that *the Pope can no more be call'd Antichrist than Luther, or Calvin*. Now it was that † those Writers who spoke favourably of the *Roman Pontiff* were approved of. The *Church of Rome* was represented by these and ‖ others as a Church in which there is no Hazard of Damnation. They held, that there is no such thing as *Idolatry* in the Church of *Rome*. *Crucifixes, Altars, Images* were erected in Churches, and a certain Adoration paid to them, and defended by some of the mention'd Writers: and the *Invocation of Saints*, especially of the *Virgin Mary*, was no unlawful Practice. Some denied not that there were *Seven Sacraments*: Others held, that other *Orders* in the Church besides those of *Deacon* and *Priest* ought to be restored. *Extreme Unction* was asserted to be a laudable Institution. A *third Place* for the Souls of the deceased, besides Heaven and Hell, was maintain'd. The *Corporal Presence* of Christ in the Sacrament was stiffly upheld. The strict and superstitious keeping of *Holy-days* was urg'd with great Zeal; whilst the Lord's Day was spent in Recreations and Revels; for which

* *Shelford*, in a Treatise of Antichrist.

† *Montague, Focklington,*

‖ *Heylin, Potter, &c.*

latter

latter Purpose a Proclamation (as was said before) was sent abroad, and all Clergymen were requir'd on their Canonical Obedience to read and publish it, and they who refus'd to do it were suspended. Archbishop *Laud's* Consecrating of St. Catharine Creed-Church, A. D. 1630. shew'd what an extravagant Ceremonialist he was. The whole Form of it is recorded in Mr. *Nelson's Rights of the Clergy of Great Britain*: Which inflam'd the rest of the Clergy with an inordinate Zeal for pompous Rites and Usages, and the Holiness of Churches. By the Influence and Dictates of the Archbishop, it was in those Days commonly asserted, that *Preaching* or (as they call'd it) *Sermonizing* was no necessary Part of a Minister's Office, and that it might be laid aside. These and such like strange Doctrines were found in the Writings which were publish'd in those Days, all destructive of the Protestant Religion, and favouring strongly of Popery, yea most of them were direct Positions of the *Romish* Doctors. The Authors of them were in good Repute at *Lambeth*, and the Books themselves printed by the Licence of the Archbishop.

To proceed, he sent *New Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical* into *Scotland*; for tho' some *Scotch* Bishops had drawn them up by his Instigation, and sent them to him to peruse, yet he alter'd, he added, he corrected them as he pleas'd: and the Lord **Clarendon* himself acknowledges that this gave Occasion to Persons to suspect the introducing of Popery. And he instances in several Particulars in those Canons, and saith, they were *Matters of Innovation, and in their own Nature Suspicious*. He had utter'd plain Truth if he had said, they were *Superstitious*, and were composed of several *Romish Rites*. Likewise, the *Scotch Liturgy* was fram'd by him, and smelt rank of the *Roman Devotion*: even such Passages, as were left

out by the Reformers, when they compos'd the *English* Liturgy, were inserted here.

It is true, some, who love not to hear of the Archbishop's Inclination to Popery, alledge that he writ a Book against the *Popish* Points; but so did King *James I.* and yet afterwards he was a Favourer of Papists, as I have shew'd, and attempted to reconcile himself and his Subjects to the Church of *Rome*. So we see, that *Grotius* in several Parts of his Writings expresses his Dislike of many *Popish* Doctrines and Practices; and yet it is plain that in his *Animadversions* on *Rivet*, and his Piece of *Antichrist* he shews himself to be a Well-willer to Popery. So *Montague* drew his Pen against some Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, and yet others of his Writings do apparently favour the *Roman* Principles. The same may be said of Mr. *Thorndike*. Wherefore 'tis evident that the Archbishop's Book (if it was his) is no certain Proof of his Aversion to Popery. It is certain that a Man may talk and write against some Things, and yet may be inclin'd to approve of them for all that. Even *Vanini* the Atheist, and who was burnt for maintaining *Atheism*, writ against the *Atheists*, and defended *Providence* in several of his Books. So *Pomponatius* and *Spinoza* writ on both Sides.

Again; it is alledged by some, (and by the Archbishop himself at his Trial,) that some of the Church of *Rome* were in Confederacy to take away his Life, and therefore 'tis not probable that he was a Favourer of the Church of *Rome*. But we know King *Henry III.* and *Henry IV.* of *France* were assassinated because they were not *Popish* enough: And 'tis thought by wise Men, that the same Cause hasten'd the Death even of our King *Charles II.* The Papists might conspire the Archbishop's Death, to fright him into more Zeal.

There is another thing pleaded in his Behalf, and which he boasted of himself, namely, that he had brought over above twenty Persons to the Church of
England

England from that of *Rome*. But this is not to be wonder'd at, nor is it inconsistent with what hath been said concerning this Prelate; yea, 'tis very agreeable. For there was at that time, by his setting up the Church of *England* to that *unusual Height*, but little Difference between the Church of *England* and the Church of *Rome*. He might easily gain Profelytes, when he had made the former so like the latter. By this means he made the Passage from one to the other easy; and so the Design was carry'd on with Caution and Exactness: They were to step over to the Church of *England*, that he might the more effectually carry them over to the Church of *Rome*. Accordingly some came and profess'd themselves to be of the Church of *England*, when they saw there was, or would in a short time be, no considerable Difference between the two Churches. Indeed, 'tis a wonder that the Number of these Profelytes was not greater, especially if they could be persuaded that the Archbishop's Endeavours would prove successful. However, some being impatient, and not willing to stay any longer in Suspence, went over directly to the Church of *Rome*, appearing as the Van-guard of the approaching Army, or as Harbingers of the happy Arrival of the Court and Clergy, which was drawing near. But others acted warily, and would see what Progress was made, and in the mean time thought it Prudence to deliberate, and not to be hasty and precipitant. The Bridge being laid, it was at their own choice to go and come as they pleased, till all things were ready and mature for a publick and profess'd Owing the *Roman* Church, or (if ye had rather so call it) a Reconciling of *Rome* and the Church of *England*, and bringing them both to friendly Terms. That this was the Archbishop's Aim, is not denied by his own Friends. Dr. Heylin, who was his Chaplain, acknowledges that he *endeavour'd an Atonement; for

so he calls it, and said it was a *pious Work*. It is confess'd by one, who knew very well the Archbishop's Mind and Intention, that *Ceremonies* were multiplied every day * *out of a Persuasion and Desire that Papists might be won over to us the sooner*: And he freely owns, that the Names of *Priests* and *Altars* were grown fashionable, and much affected and used by the Clergy, that they might not be charged with *Inconformity with the Church of Rome*. So scandalous a thing was it thought by the Archbishop and his Factors, not to be conformable to that Church.

Thus I have offer'd some Proofs (and more might have been produced) of the Archbishop's Affection to Popery. I know there are thousands that stand up and assert the contrary, yea, they are enraged if they hear any one suspect that Prelate. But for my part, I wonder that any one can be so incredulous, as to think that *this* was not aim'd at and endeavour'd by him. It seems to me undeniable, that he encouraged and promoted the *Roman Cause*, and excited others to do so. Truly it is my judgment, that if all the Pictures in the world of a *Zealot* for that Cause were lost, they might all again be painted to the life out of the Story of this Archbishop.

As for the Sovereign who then reigned, Sir *Philip Warwick* speaks thus of him: † *He was willing to give it (the Church of Rome) its due, that it might be brought to be willing to accept, at least to grant, such an Union in the Church, as might have brought a free and friendly Communion between Dissenters (that is, Roman Catholics and those of the Church of England) without the one's total quitting his Errors, or the other being necessitated to partake therein: And I truly believe this was the utmost both of his and his Archbishop's Inclinations*. Observe it, it was not necessary to quit their Errors; they might unite and hold Communion with-

* *Chillingworth's Preface to the Author of Charity maintain'd.*

† *Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles I. p. 73, 74.*

out requiring that. He tells us, that *Grotius* soon discerned this Inclination in the King; and accordingly in his Dedication of his Book *De Jure Belli & Pacis*, he recommends it to the King of France, as the most Royal and Christian Design imaginable, for his Majesty to become a Means to make an Union among Christians in Profession of Religion; and therein he tells him, how well-knowing and well-disposed the King of England was thereunto. I shall not enlarge here, because it is difficult to dive into the Hearts of Princes, and to understand the Drift of their Actions. There hath been a hot Contest about the Book of *Meditations* and *Prayers* which some ascribe to him: But in my mind they disparage him, who fix those Devotions upon him; for we shall find that one of those Prayers, said to be made by him in time of Adversity, was taken out of Sir *Philip Sydney's Arcadia*, and is a Prayer made to a Heathen God. I lay great stress upon the formal Attestation of the Earl of *Anglesey*, that King *Charles II.* and his Brother then Duke of *York* assured him, that that Book of Devotion (call'd *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*) was not wrote or composed by their Father King *Charles I.* but by Dr. *Gauden*. And this was confirm'd by the Doctor's Letters, and other incontestable Circumstances. I am not positive about this Prince's Inclination and Affection to the Church of *Rome*; but I think there is ground to say, if he was a good Protestant, he scarcely could, notwithstanding this, have given plainer Proofs of the contrary than he did. To conclude; if that be true which one * relates, that the Marquis of *Antrim* in *Ireland*, after King *Charles II.*'s Return, produced in the House of Commons in *England*, King *Charles I.*'s Orders and Commission for what he and the rest did in the *Irish* Rebellion against the Protestants in the beginning of our Wars (whereupon King *Charles II.* order'd him to be restored to his Estate in *Ireland*)

* Mr. *Baxter's* Life, Part III. p. 83.

there is more than ordinary ground to believe, that the *English Court* in those days had a very great Esteem for the Papal Interest.

Before I proceed, give me leave to say something concerning that Honourable Person's *History of the Civil Wars* which I have above cited, and which is mightily applauded by some as an exact and perfect Piece, but in my Judgment it is far from meriting that Character. For tho' it must be acknowledged, that the excellent Parts and Endowments of that noble Author shine throughout his whole Book, and his strong and nervous Style is very singular and praiseworthy, and his politick Remarks are very apposite and useful; yet he seems to me to be very defective in the main part of an Historian, which is, faithfully and impartially to lay open the *true Causes and Springs* of the Evils and Mischiefs which he relates. It is true, he is not wholly silent as to some of these, and acknowledges, that *the High Commission Court*, by the great Power of some Bishops, *overflow'd the Banks which should have contain'd it; not in meddling with things that were not in their Connusance, but extending their Sentences and Judgments in matters triable before them, beyond that degree which was justifiable*: And much more he adds there (Book IV.) against that Court. He takes notice in another place (Book II.) that *the Convocation in the Year 1640, sat after the Parliament was dissolved, and made new Canons, and did many things which in the best of times might have been question'd*. And in other things he observes, how illegal and arbitrary the Clergy were, animated by the Archbishop. He owns, that it was high time for the great Senate of the Nation to take notice of the Violation of their Liberties and Properties, and of the Innovations brought into the Church. He observes, that great Peace and Plenty produced Luxury, Wantonness, and Licentiousness, and that these were Friends to the *Roman Religion*; which is one Source of the Disorders and Commotions in the Nation, and

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is touch'd at by him. He cannot wholly suppress the Root of the War, but he labours to palliate and disguise it all along*. *No Man was a greater Enemy to Popery*, he saith of Archbishop Laud; though he is pleased to confute himself at other times, when he owns him to have shew'd Favour to the Papists,

He speaks contemptibly of Archbishop Abbot, and tells us, that † *he had sat too many Years in that See, and had too great a Jurisdiction over the Church*. He disparages his Learning, and the very College in Oxford whereof he was Head, tho' this Writer was Chancellor of that University. Yea, he ignorantly blames him for || *not conforming to the Articles of the Church*. Several of his Characters of Persons of eminent Families are not faithfully deliver'd, but are very partial and false. There is not that Fairness, Ingenuity, and Integrity which he pretends to in this matter. Many of the most remarkable Passages of those Times are more exactly set down by other Writers, who were wise and knowing in those Transactions, and give Accounts different from him, especially in those matters wherein he was partly concern'd himself.

He was either grossly mistaken in his Information in several things, or else he willfully perverted them; either out of Partiality to the Cause, or out of Imprudence: Of both which there is this Instance; because he was a Student in the *Common Law*, and a great Admirer of that Faculty, he disparaged the *Civil Lawyers*, and with great Sharpness inveighs against *Ecclesiastical Courts* in general. And truly I look upon him as unfit for that Task which he undertook; for from what is certainly known of him, and what he discovers himself in his Papers, 'tis evident that he was not a true and hearty Patron of that Cause which he seem'd to espouse§. He was appointed by the

* Book VIII.

† Book I.

|| Ibid.

§ *Rushworth's Collections*, Part III. Vol. I. p. 139.

House of Commons to read the Articles against the Lord Keeper *Finch*; and his Intimacy with the Lord *Faulkland* lets us know what Side he was of, and what he actually had a hand in sometimes. He was Chairman of the Committee which was against Bishops, and Episcopacy as it was then settled. Sir *Philip Warwick* in his *Memoirs* plainly saith, that Sir *Edward Hyde*, whilst he was in the House, was of the Party against the King, or *was very lukewarm in his Interest*; which may convince us that his Sincerity was not extraordinary.

He shew'd this Temper too palpably at the *Restoration*, when the Loyal Party deservedly hated him for his having no regard to those that had been Sufferers for the Cause: And King *Charles* himself was weary of him, and cast him off; and he was generally disliked by all others. Wherefore 'tis untruly said in the *Preface*, that *he held his Office with the universal Approbation of the whole Kingdom, and the general Applause of all good Men*. If it were so, then the greatest Friends of Monarchy, and the most zealous Churchmen, were not good Men.

But that which I at present take notice of is, that he never assigns the true and most substantial Reasons and Grounds of things relating to our publick Com-motions and Disorders, and to our Civil Wars: He doth not faithfully relate the Original Causes and Foundations of the Rebellion; that is, in plain terms, he doth not tell the World that it was *the Fear of Popery and arbitrary Government*, nay, the *actual Encroachment of these*, that gave rise to it. Unless he had said this, he might have spared all his Volumes, and the several Divisions of them, which he solemnly prefaces to with Texts of Scripture, as if he were going to *preach*, and intended *Sermons* rather than *Historical Relations*. Only we may observe hence, that he would seem to be very *serious*, and carry it *religiously*; whereas nothing is more *profane* than dissembling the Truth.

I now

I now proceed to King *Charles II.*'s Reign, where the *Popish Plots* which were discover'd, sufficiently inform us what the *Roman Agents* were driving at in those days ; and when the *Parliament* made Enquiry into those Mysteries, the King presently dissolved them, and another Parliament after that. It is manifest, that he took all the Ways he thought were safe for himself, to ruine us, and bring in Popery, tho' he often and with Earnestness profess'd his Concern for the Protestant Cause. But it was plainly seen by what Arts and Methods he prepared the Way for his Brother's ascending the Throne after him, and setting up the *Roman Religion*. He once and again granted Indulgence for Liberty of Conscience, in which *Papists* were included, and without doubt chiefly intended. He frequently made War with the *Dutch*, and join'd with the *French*; thereby making *France* strong, and his own Kingdoms weak. Our very chief Cathedral in the Nation was to have been according to the Pattern at *Rome*, *St. Peter's*; only the Architect was by Carelessness so much a Protestant, as to let little of it be seen in this Fabrick.

When King *James II.* ascended the Throne, Popery grew rampant in this Nation ; and 'tis well known with what Zeal and Application that Prince strove to advance the *Roman Interest*. We were now in greater Danger than ever, he being in league with *France*, and having one of his own Kingdoms of his Religion. The Forts and Castles were in the Hands of *Papists*. The *Roman Worship* was set up in several Places of the Nation, and even in its great Metropolis. *Jesuites*, those Frogs of the mystical *Egypt*, were in Kings Chambers. *Monks* and *Friers* appeared in their Habits in our very Streets. Our Laws were trampled upon, and we were stript of our Rights and Immunities. In brief, *Hell* and *Rome* were Day and Night at work to add the finishing Stroke to what they had been so long contriving.

Nor (to speak freely and impartially) are we upon safe ground yet, as long as a Party among us is zealous and active for the bringing in a *Popish Prince*. For let them frame what Pretences and Notions they please, I shall ever be persuaded, that those Men who will be contented with no other Ruler but one of that Character, have a good Opinion of Popery, and will shew it when they have brought it in. They whose Consciences and Principles direct them to the one, I fear will not boggle at the other. They who think fit to call in Popery, are under a great Temptation to embrace it, and to persecute those that will not. Wherefore from such Men let us pray to be delivered. And let us be fully apprehensive of the happy State we are in at present under our Gracious Sovereign, who hath given us Demonstrations of his Dislike of the *Roman Religion* and Cause, and hath assured us of his sincere Intentions and Endeavours to establish the Protestant Interest, and particularly that of the Church of *England*, in these Kingdoms: For which may the Divine Blessing be ever shower'd upon his Royal Head.

Having thus largely given an account of the Rise and Growth of Popery, and of its Decay and Declension (not without some Attempts for restoring of it again) it will not be unacceptable to the Reader, I conceive, to set before him the *particular Springs and Causes*, together with the *Occasions and Means* of bringing both to effect: And hereby likewise I shall farther display the pernicious Nature of the Papal Religion, and explain and illustrate some of the Particulars before-mention'd. First, let me briefly represent to the Reader the true Springs from whence the corrupt Religion of the Church of *Rome* had its Rise and Encrease.

First, It sprang from the Church's Peace and Plenty, and the immoderate Desire of worldly Gain, and Affectation of Grandeur, which Churchmen indulg'd themselves in. In a short time after the Persecutions
ceased,

ceased, the Church began to be corrupted. * She grew rich, and that was her Bane. It is said, that at the time *Constantine* the Great was so liberal to the Church and Clergy, and gave them large Revenues, a Voice was heard in the Air, which convey'd these Words, † *This day Poison is poured into the Church*. Whether this Relation be true, or no, I will not dispute: But this is certain, that the contagious Ferment spread itself, and Ease and Idleness inclined Men to receive vitious Impressions, insomuch that they could not endure a strict and severe Religion. Much more afterwards, when Riches and Honours increas'd, the Clergy grew lazy and luxurious; and now it was too hard a Task to discharge the Duty of a Pastor themselves, and therefore they must have Substitutes and Curates. The more the Power of the Pope and of the other Bishops was augmented by the Bounty and Liberality of Princes, the more wanton they became, and the more desirous they were of making an Alteration in Religion, and shaping it to their own corrupted Fancies. Here to be more plain and express, I will distinctly insist on the two Particulars I have mention'd, and first prove, that *Papery* was set up by *Covetousness* and *Love of Gain*; secondly, by a *greedy Desire of Greatness and Dominion*.

One great Advancer of the Degeneracy of the *Roman* Church was the worldly and avaritious Temper that prevail'd among those who were employ'd in the Church. *Feed the Flock of God, not for filthy Lucre*, saith *St. Peter*, 1 Epist. v. §. 2. but those who pretend to be his Successors and Vicars preach no such Doctrine. They study to advance their own Temporal Concerns, but neglect the Spiritual Good of their Flock. *St. Peter*, from whom they claim, was heard to say, *Silver and Gold have I none*; but these make it their Business to be Masters of the Peoples Purfes,

* Divitias peperit mater, & filia devoravit matrem.

† Platina in vit. Sylvest.

and to gather the Riches of the World into their Coffers. Among the old *Romans* the *Treasuries* were placed in their *Temples*; and those of new *Rome* would have it so now; they would have the Wealth of all Nations under the Keys of the Church. The *Jewish* Masters have this Saying: *Ten Measures of Riches came down into the World; the Romans took nine of them to themselves, and left only one to the rest of the Nations.* The Church of *Rome* would have it thus, and they make it their Work to effect it. To them may be applied the Prophet *Isaiab's* Words: *They are greedy Dogs, which can never have enough; they all look to their own way, every one for his Gain from his Quarter.* And that of the Prophet *Jeremiah* is their just Character: *From the least of them even to the greatest of them, every one is given to Covetousness.* Jer. vi. 13. St. Paul foretold of these *Roman Wolves*, who would not spare the Flock (*Acts* xx. 29.) but would make all the Advantage of them they could, for their secular Ends. These are the Persons who suppose that Gain is Godliness, 1 Tim. vi. 5. and that Money and Religion are convertible. Of these Seducers St. Peter hath left us this Character, *Through Covetousness shall they make Merchandise of you,* 2 Epist. ii. 3. And again, *ψ. 14.* this is a Note of Hereticks and False-Teachers, *An Heart they have exercised with covetous Practices;* and their Avarice is compared to that of *Balaam*, who loved the Wages of Unrighteousness. *ψ. 15.*

And now having said this, it is no strange thing that they shape and frame Religion as they please, and make it what they will. And that is the thing which I will next demonstrate, that the *Roman Religion* and many of its Doctrines and Practices are modell'd and contriv'd on purpose for worldly Gain and Profit. Who sees not, that these two chief Doctrines of Popery, viz. *Purgatory* and *Praying for the Dead*, bring in a constant Revenue to the Church? The Priest's greatest Profits arise from the Dead: These bring in more Gain than the Living. Hence are *Trentals*, *O-*
bits,

bits, Diriges, Requiems, Montbly Minds, and an infinite Number of Masses and Prayers for the Dead. Purgatory hath founded Monasteries and Frieries, endowed Abbeys and Convents, built Churches, enrich'd the Priests, and of all Doctrines hath been most advantageous to the Clergy. For who will not strike off a great Part of his Estate to the Persons who are able by their Prayers to deliver their Souls out of the Torments of Purgatory? What Gifts are too great and too many for those powerful *Intercessors*, who can release their Spirits out of that Prison, who can rescue them from those Flames? And as Gain invented and upholds *Praying for the Dead*, so likewise *Praying to them*: For the Priests have many a Fee for addressing to a very powerful Saint in behalf of the Distressed: Especially they are well paid, if their Clients carry the Cause, and obtain what they wanted and were desirous of.

Then, as to the Doctrine and Practice of granting *Indulgences* and *Pardons*, it is evident that these were contrived to fetch Money out of the People's Purfes. Accordingly the *Tax* of the *Apostolick Chamber* sets the Price of all Sorts of Sins. You may know what it will cost you to commit adultery, what to murder, what to forswear yourself, what to steal, &c. So much for a Licence to marry in a Degree allow'd by God, but disallow'd by the Church: So much for dispensing with a Prince to keep his Oaths: So much for him to marry his Aunt: So much for marrying two Sisters, &c. A certain *Rate* is fixed of all these, and the greater the Crime is, the greater is the Gain; and the more Sins you commit, the more is the Pope's Profit. He and his Officers thrive best, when the World is most vitious; as Physicians fare best, when it is the worst and sickliest Time with the People; and as those that live upon Shipwracks gain most when the Seas are infested with Storms and Tempests. I might here add, that the Doctrine of *Supererogation*, and the *Superabundance of the Merits of the Saints* (on

which the foresaid *Indulgences* are founded) brings in a great Income, and therefore those *meritorious Works* are rightly stiled the *Treasure* of the Church. Next, as to *Images*, and the praying to them and worshipping them, the *Roman Church* would not be so wealthy as she is, if she did not defend this piece of Idolatry; for this Adoration is frequently accompanied with Offerings and Gifts. You must not come empty-handed; the Saints you kneel to will not heal and bless you without Oblations: If you be stingy and niggardly, they will be so too; therefore be generous and liberal, and then you make *them* such. It may be truly said of the Popish Priests, as the Author of the Book of *Wisdom* saith of Idol-makers, *They count their Life here a Market for Gain; for, say they, we must be getting every way, tho' it be by evil means.* *Wisd. xv. 12.*

Doth any one doubt, whether the *Jubilee* was not instituted for the Pope's Profit? But the celebrating it once in a hundred Years (as it was at first order'd by *Boniface VIII. A.D. 1300.*) would not serve their turn; and therefore *Clement VI.* in the Year 1346, reduced it to every fiftieth Year; and *Sixtus IV.* brought it down to twenty five Years, that the Pence might come in the faster. It cannot be denied, that *Pilgrimages* to the Tombs of Saints and Martyrs, and worshipping there their Reliques, bring in a constant Salary to those that are the Keepers and Shewers of them, and much more to those by whom they are employ'd; for the most considerable Presents and Oblations fall to their part. No Man can question, whether the *Roman Pontiff* and his Creatures be not enrich'd by *Simony*, that is, by buying and selling of Benefices and Ecclesiastical Promotions, and by *Confirmation of Bishops*, and *sending Episcopal Palls*, *Dispensing with Pluralities*, and *Non-residence*, *Absolving from Oaths and Vows*, *Dispensations in Matrimonial Cases*, especially about prohibited Marriages, *dispensing with the eating of forbidden Meats*. Money is got by *Tenths*, by *First-Fruits* (called *Annats*, because they
are

are the Revenues of one Year paid to the Pope) by *Appeals to the Court of Rome* (for the Pope claims a Definitive Sentence in all great and weighty Controversies) by the *Sale of Popish Trinkets*, as *Agnus Dei's*, *Consecrated Beads*, *Consecrated Roses*, *Gloves*, *Swords*, and other Knicknacks and Bawbles. I may here also mention the *Canonizing of Saints*, which is a very chargeable Work; for rich and costly Ceremonies are used at the celebrating of it: It is to pass through a great many Offices, and Money is to be dropt in them all. Lastly, the Pope hath a Revenue yearly from the *Stews*; he requires a Tribute from the *Prostitutes*. He hath such a *Roman Nose* as the Emperor *Vespasian* had; he thinks that all Revenue, however it be raised, smells well.

These are the ways by which Wealth and Riches come flowing into the Pope's Coffers. It was truly said by one of the *Roman Communion*: **Our Priests seem to desire the Popedom, not for Religion and the Service of God, but that they may fill the craving Appetite and Avarice of their Brethren, or Nephews, or Familiars.* Guicciardin and Machiavel often cry out of the design'd Methods of the Popes to purchase vast Estates, and raise their Families. And we have read a great many Instances of the horrid Abuses of *Nepotism*. But it hath been observ'd by those that have travell'd into the Popish Countries, that those of them that are the richest and fruitfulest as to Soil and Climate, are most desolate and miserable; for the *Priests* Plenty starves the *People*. The Palaces, and Churches, and Religious Houses, shew a great deal of Wealth; but the Want and Poverty of the ordinary Inhabitants are deplorable. The Priests devour all; they even grind the Faces of the Poor, to bring Grist to their Mill. This greedy Avarice of Churchmen was taken notice of here in *England*, and the ill Consequences of it were endeavour'd to be prevented

* Platina in Pope John. 16.

for the future by the Statute of *Mortmain*, which restrain'd the Liberality (I might say Prodigality) of Persons towards the Church and Clergy; because they so abounded in Revenues, and because what was given to them was thought to come into a *dead Hand* (for that is *Mort-main*;) which holdeth fast what it gets, and lets it not go. Wise and observing Men saw, that they made a very gainful Trade of Religion: And we must needs see from the several Particulars before suggested, that Popery is wholly for Profit. That Church cares not what it saith, or doth, so it may gain. It offers all things for Money, yea Heaven itself.

*————— *Venalia nobis*

*Templa, Sacerdotes, Altaria, Sacra, Coronæ,
Ignis, Thura, Preces; Cælum est venale, Deusq.*

Rome is the Staple for all *Merchandise*, as is admirably set forth in the eighteenth Chapter of the *Revelation*. We are told even by one of the *Roman Church*, that “the † *Merchants of the Earth*, spoken of there, are “*Priests*, who sell Prayers and Masses for Money, “making the House of Prayer a House of Merchandise. This shews, that Popery is a good Religion for the Rich, but not for the Poor. And whereas Christ said, *'Tis hard for a rich Man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*; in the *Roman Church* a rich Man enters in soonest, nay, he can't fail of entring; for when he is alive he can take long Pilgrimages, and he can buy Pardons and Indulgences; and he can order, that after his Death the Priests shall be liberally paid to say Masses for his Soul. *To the Poor the Gospel is preach'd*, said our Saviour; and they generally were the Persons that received Christ's Doctrine, and were received by him. But in the *Church of Rome* these are cast off, and the Gates of Heaven are shut against them. For in the *Tax of the Apostolick Chancery* (a Book which I

• Mantuan. lib. 3. † Abbas Joachim in Comment. in Apocalypf. mention'd

mention'd before, set forth by Pope *Leo X.* where the Price of all Pardons is set down) we are plainly told, that these Pardons and Absolutions can't be given to the Poor. And *Polydore Virgil* confesses as much, when he owns that Indulgences were devised for Profit, and therefore poor People can't expect to have a Share in them: But come with Money, and you shall have all Graces and Virtues bestow'd upon you, and you shall have all your Crimes and Transgressions fully remitted, and both living and dying you shall be happy.

I look upon that Passage in *Acts* xix. 24, &c. to be a plain Representation of the Case of the *Romish Priests*: They, like *Demetrius*, deal in *Silver-Shrines*, which bring no small Gain to the Craftsmen; and therefore 'tis no wonder that they urge this with great Earnestness, *Sirs, ye know that by this Craft we have our Wealth.* We shall lose our Trade and Custom, we fall short of our Gain and Income, if we do not keep up the Doctrines and Practice of worshipping of Images, of praying for the Dead, of Indulgences and Absolutions, &c. Wherefore let us be very warm and concerned in this Cause, and cry up this *Diana*, and never suffer these profitable Doctrines and Usages to be ravish'd from us. Thus *Rome* is the *Great Warehouse*, and their *Religion* is *Merchandise*. And this was the Sense and Persuasion of that Pope, who said to one of his Cardinals, or the Cardinal said it to him: *See how advantageous this Fable of Christ is to us! See what a deal of good Cash it brings in!* I think then I have rightly assign'd this to be one great Advancer of the Antichristian Church and Cause, namely, their excessive Love of Gain.

And with this is join'd their immoderate Desire of *Grandeur*, *Honour*, and *Dominion*. And indeed this is their chief Aim: For tho' they can't raise their Power, or keep it up without Wealth, (and thence it is necessary to mind this) yet that which is ultimately design'd by them is to be Great and Powerful,

to be Reverenced and Obey'd, and to be Exalted above all others. All their Doctrines and Rites, all their Contrivances and Practices tend to this. The Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* is a very exalting Article; for this makes Priests as high as God. After uttering a few Words they can turn Bread into Flesh, yea, into Christ's real Body, which is a greater Miracle than any of the old Prophets or Apostles were able to do. Raising the Dead is not to be compared, much less equall'd with this. What Regard and Honour then, what Preferment and Rewards are due to such Persons? What can be denied to them, who are able to effect such mighty things? The wonderful Power and Virtue of these Men, who can change a Wafer into God incarnate, can never be sufficiently admired and extoll'd. Thus the Mystery of *Transubstantiation* sets up the *Roman* Clergy. So without doubt the debarring the *People* of the *Cup*, is to make the *Priests* more esteem'd and honour'd. So questionless the *Service in an unknown Tongue* redounds to the Credit of this Rank of Persons; for every one can't say the Service in *Latin*, and therefore those that can, ought to be magnified and advanced.

The Priest's Power of *Absolving* from all Sins, and especially the Pope's Power of granting *Pardons* and *Indulgences* to whom he pleases, cannot but derive a wonderful Honour upon them, from those that believe this Doctrine. And again, what will not the People do for him, that can not only pardon all their Sins here, but free them from Purgatory afterwards? *Auricular Confession* to a Priest of all the Sins a Man hath committed, or designs to commit, is a politick Contrivance for the disclosing the Affairs of Families, and is a useful Tool to keep People in Awe.

Scire volunt secreta domus, atque inde timeri.

Besides that the Priests being thus acquainted with the Secrets of Mankind, and the hidden Affairs of the World, can impart them to Authority: For 'tis not
unlawful

unlawful to make known what is confess'd to them, if it be for the Good of the *Roman Church*, as is decided by some *Casuists. That of † *Luther* is true here; Christ (saith he) gave to the Church *two Keys*, but out of these the Pope hath made *several Pick-locks*. And we see how dextrously he can make use of them to Politick Ends. And to the like Ends is the *Marriage of the Clergy forbid*; namely, to render them an Order more holy than others in the Repute of the World, that so they may be the more reverenc'd and rewarded: Likewise, by *living in Cælibacy* they can afford to leave all they have to the Church, and thereby enrich it.

On the *Pope's Supremacy and Infallibility*; on *Blind Obedience* and *Implicit Faith* what great Advantages depend? The Church of *Rome* can do what she will; govern and rule as she pleases by such Doctrines as these. How politick is that Practice of theirs, of *exempting the Clergy from the Civil Jurisdiction*? And how powerful an Engine for advancing the Papal Throne is the *Excommunicating, Anathematizing, Deposing*, yea *Poisoning*, and other ways sending out of the World *Kings and Emperors*? § *Stapleton* saith it in Honour of the Church of *Rome*, that "the Bishop of it, even without Arms gives Laws to the Kings of the Earth, prefers to Kingdoms and Thrones, compels to Peace and Unity, &c. which the Emperors of *Rome* could not effect, although they were assisted with forty Legions of armed Men." And yet what is it but *Grandeur and Wealth*, that the Pope drives at in all this, especially in making Christian Kings truckle to him? What is it, but *Pomp and Honour*; what but *Tyranny and Usurpation*, what but universal Empire and Dominion that he aims at?

* Panormitan. c. omnis. de Pœnit. & Rem. Alex. Hal. part. 4. qu. 28. art. 2.

† Coll. Mens.

§ De Mag. Eccl. l. 2. c. 1.

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* Panormitan. c. omnis. de Pœnit. & Rem. Alex. Hal. part. 4. qu. 28. art. 2.

† Coll. Mens.

§ De Mag. Eccl. l. 2. c. 1.

We might *farther* observe the politick Contrivance and Make of the *Roman* Religion: Things are so craftily put together, that we may see their Design was to gratify the Humours of *all Sorts of Persons*. This is thus represented in Part by Sir * *Edwyn Sandys*,
 “ What Pomp (saith he) what Riot like to that of
 “ their Cardinals? What Severity of Life compara-
 “ ble to that of their Hermits and Capuchins? Who
 “ wealthier than their Prelates? Who poorer by Vow
 “ and Profession than their Mendicants? On the one
 “ side of the Street a Cloyster of Virgins; on the
 “ other side a Sty of Whores with publick Tolera-
 “ tion. This Day all in Masks with all Looseness and
 “ Foolery; to Morrow all in Processions, whipping
 “ themselves ’till the Blood follows. On one Door
 “ an Excommunication, throwing to Hell all Trans-
 “ gressors; on the other a Jubilee, or full Discharge
 “ from all Transgressions.” And in many other things
 it might be shew’d, that Popery is a Medley, a Farce,
 a Compound of different, yea contrary Ingredients.
 The *Roman* Beast hath all his Paces. Papists have
 Entertainments for Persons of all Tempers and Geni-
 us’s. Whether you delight in Fasting or Feasting;
 in Mourning or Revelling; in Whining or Ranting;
 in the Severities of Lent, or the jolly Carnival that
 accompanies it, and heretofore hath even been mix’d
 with it, take your choice, you may be treated as you
 please. Popery is one way or other calculated for all
 Meridians, and fitted to all Inclinations; which is
 one Reason why it so much prevails, and hath gain-
 ed so many Professors.

Thus from this and the former Head it is manifest,
 that the Religion of the Church of *Rome* is made to
 promote Secular Interest, and to carry on Worldly
 Designs. Some have distinguish’d between the *Court*
 and the *Church of Rome*; but there is little Ground

for it: For (as * one tells us, who had a perfect Knowledge of them) *Their Religion is mere Policy*. Covetousness and Ambition, Pride and Pleasure actuate all things; these run thro' all their Tenets and all their Performances. They have an Eye in every thing to their Temporal Advantage. This is the Catholick Principle that inspires them. But this is quite against the primitive Spirit of Religion. Christ saith, *His Kingdom is not of this World*; and thence we may gather, that that of *Rome* is Antichristian. He fled from a Crown; but they take it from others, to set it on their own Heads. Christ's Disciples were severely check'd for their Ambition, and enquiring *who should be greatest*, and therefore we may infer that *Rome* is to be condemn'd for its affecting of *Grandeur* and *Sovereignty*. But this was the way to set her up, and accordingly she took this Method to effect it.

Secondly, *The cherishing of Ignorance* was another Cause of the Rise and Progress of the Popish Corruptions. It may be observ'd (and hath been by many) that after the Western Empire decay'd, there was a Decay of Knowledge and Learning; Arts and Sciences were neglected, the Tongues disregarded, and Barbarism and Blindness came in their Place. This began in the eighth Century, and increased more and more; not only abroad, but in these Countries where our Ancestors liv'd. The Clergymen were so ignorant, that few of them understood their Common-prayers, insomuch that † it was order'd by a Synod, that those of the Clergy, that could not say, *Domine miserere nostri* in *Latin*, should instead thereof say, *Lord have Mercy upon us*, in their Mother-Tongue. The Scriptures were never read, and scarcely ever seen by some Priests. || *Luther* tells us, that even about the Beginning of the Reformation, *Albertus*, Arch-

* Sir Edw. Sand. *Europæ Speculum*.

† Concil. Brit. p. 248. and 253. A. D. 747.

|| Colloq. Mesp.

bishop of *Mentz*, by chance meeting with the Bible, read a considerable time in it, and being asked what he thought of it, answer'd, *I know not what Book this is: but sure I am, all that is therein written, is quite against us.* * Several Doctors of Divinity had not read a Word of the Bible in *Luther's* Time. And particularly † *Luther* saith concerning *Andrew Carolstadt*, a noted Papist in his Time, that he was promoted Doctor of Divinity eight Years before he read the Bible. And concerning himself he lets us know, that ‖ he was twenty Years old, and saw no Bible: He thought there had been no other *Epistles* and *Gospels*, but only those in the *Postills*.

Thus Popery is foster'd by Ignorance, which naturally produces Error and Superstition. And then the grossest Opinions are entertain'd, and any thing is embraced for Religion. It was this that promoted the Belief of feign'd Miracles; for we hear but of very few since the *Reformation*, that is, since a greater Light and Knowledge hath sprung up among Men. The true Character of a Papist is, *He is in Darknes and walketh in Darknes, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that Darknes hath blinded his Eyes.* Ignorance is a good Ingredient in his Religion, and the Knowledge of the Scriptures and divine Truths is a dangerous thing. *Mystery and Babylon* is his Badge; *Darknes* and *Blindnes* are essential to him; for it fares with all that are proselyted into this Religion, as with all those who, § *Herodotus* saith, were taken captive by the *Scythians*, they have their Eyes put out, and have no longer the Use of their Sight. There was in *Italy* an Order of Friars, who were call'd *The Brethren of Ignorance*, because they took an Oath that they would not Read, Know, or Learn any thing; but that they would answer all Questions with *Nescio, I know not.* This was but one particular Order: but

* Pref. to Colloq. Mens.

† Ibid.

‖ Ibid.

§ Ἀγῶν τῶν ἀν' ἀλάστον οἱ Σκύθαι, ἐκτεφνῶσι. Lib. 4. c. 2.

it is certain that gross Ignorance reigns among others of them. You may read even in their own Writers (as in *Platina* and others who have writ the Popes Lives) of very blockish ignorant Popes; you shall frequently find that the infallible Guide of the World (as they stile him) the Teacher of all Souls, the universal Head hath been very empty of Knowledge. One of their own Authors *leaves it on Record, that many of their Popes were so devoid of *Scholarship* that they knew not a Word in the Grammar. And who then can expect any Knowledge in the Laity, especially as to diviner Matters? They are denied the Scriptures, and their Prayers are in Latin, tho' they understand not a Word of it. Or, if *Latin* should grow too common, and come to be understood, they'll perhaps have their Service in *Arabick*, or *Coptick*. In brief, Popery sprang from *Ignorance* and *Barbarism*; and, what begot it, doth nourish it.

Thirdly, *The falling off from the primitive Rule and Institution* was the Cause of all the Popish Corruptions. The Papal Antichrist got up by this: when Men took liberty to institute new things in divine Worship, then Popery arose. Then as Christ's Authority decreased daily, so the Pope's Power grew greater and greater. As Christ's Name was obscured, so that of his pretended Vicar became illustrious. This was the leading Cause of Popery, namely, the preferring Human Authority to that which is Divine: the laying Scripture aside, and making Additions to Religion out of their own fertile Inventions. The *Canon Law* gives it for sound Doctrine, that the *Decretal Epistles* of the Popes are to be rank'd with the *Canonical Scriptures*. Mr. *William Tindall* being engaged in a Dispute with one who was accounted a Learned Doctor of the *Romish* Persuasion, drew him to that Issue, that he brake forth

* Cùm constat plures Papas adeò illiteratos esse, ut Grammaticam penitus ignorarent. Alphons. à Castro. l. 1. adv. Hæres. c. 4.

into these blasphemous Words, *We* (saith he) *had better be without God's Laws than the Pope's*. And 'tis observable, that when they do make use of the Divine Law, and quote the Holy Scriptures, their Interpretations of them, and Glosses upon them are full of Querks and Fetches, Subterfuges and Evasions; and they make what Sense they please of Scripture. There might be abundant Instances given of this; but I have in another *Place produced some of them. Let it suffice at present to remark, that either by forsaking the Rule, or by distorting and perverting it, (which indeed differs little from the other) the true Notions of the Christian Religion have been deprav'd, and the Popish Doctrines and Abuses have prevail'd.

Fourthly, the Promotion and Establishment of the Religion of Papists were effected by *Cheats* and *Frauds*, and all manner of Lying and Deceit. It seems the *Christian* and *Pagan Rome* agree in this; for we are told by *Livy* and other Historians, that *Numa Pompilius* fam'd a familiar Conference with the Goddess *Egeria*, and pretended to receive from her particular Dictates about Religion, that thereby he might gain the greater Authority and Reverence, and insinuate his Laws into the Peoples Minds and Esteem. *Papery* was set up after this manner; that is, by feign'd *Revelations*, by counterfeit *Visions*, by pretending to hold Communion with certain deceased Saints; and chiefly, by Lying *Miracles*. For Miracles are made a Mark of the True Church by Popish Writers, and therefore some of these must be produced to establish the *Roman Cause*. Yea, and the Cause was set up by it at first. Thus those that give us an Account of the *seventh Century*, let us know that many Prodigies, Wonders, and Miracles, were feign'd for the Credit of the Mass, Purgatory, Praying to Saints, Monastick Life, Worshipping of Images, &c. And the next Age was full of Forged Miracles and Lying Wonders,

* On the Third Commandment,

to give Repute to these and other Superstitious Doctrines and Usages. And good Store of these there were in the eleventh Century, as may be seen in *Vincentius, Sigebert, &c.*

And they went on in the same Course afterwards, and that by their own Confession ; as in that Discovery which was made of the Cheat carried on by the *Dominican* Friars, in their Contestation with the *Franciscans* about the immaculate Conception : and the Actors in that Imposture were burnt at *Berne*. The History of the *Provost of Orleans's Wife* is no Secret : Her Husband at her Death gave nothing to the Church, which was so ill taken by the *Cordeliers*, that it was agreed amongst them that one of their Convent should creep between the Cieling and the Roof of their Church, and there shriek and howl and make a hideous Noise. Whereupon all the City was affrighted, as if the Church were haunted by the Devil : Accordingly the Spirit was conjur'd by an Exorcist to tell what he was, and what he would have : At which the Spirit confess'd, that she was the Soul of the Provost's Wife ; for whose Health nothing was allow'd to the Church : and for want of the Prayers of the Priests she was in great Pain and Torment. But the Provost being a resolute Man caus'd the Matter to be search'd into, whereby the Cheat was soon found out, and the Impostors were severely punish'd without Respect to their Cowls, and the Indemnities of their Order. And other Frauds of the like Nature have been acted and detected, and sometimes punish'd, because it would be too apparently scandalous to let such Forgeries go unpunish'd, when they were plainly discover'd. But this is certain, that they dearly love to delude one another ; but especially the simple and vulgar People.

These they also cheat with *Counterfeit Images*, of which *Luther* in his *Colloq. Mensal.* gives us this Instance ; In a Monastery at *Hfenach* in *Germany* I saw (saith he) an Image of the Virgin *Mary* with her
Child

Child Jesus. When a wealthy Person came thither to pray, the Child turn'd away his Face from the Sinner to his Mother, as if he refus'd to give Ear to his Prayer; and therefore the Supplicant was to apply himself to the Mother *Mary*, and to crave her to mediate and intercede for him. But if the Person gave liberally to that Monastery, then the Child turn'd to him again; and if he promis'd to give more, then the Child shew'd himself very friendly and loving towards him, and stretch'd out his Arms over him in Figure of a Cross. This Image was hollow within; and behind it stood one who order'd it as Occasion serv'd: but the ordinary People took it to move by Divine Providence.

The Cheat of pretended *Relicks* is well known: for whereas *Baronius* confesses there were not above four Nails of the *Cross* in all, they produce several hundreds of them. And because they know they can be bold with the silly People, *the Archbishop of *Mentz* bragg'd that he had the Flame of the *Bush* which *Moses* beheld burning. And a Leg of the *Ass* on which Christ rode into *Jerusalem* was given by a Priest of *Rome* to a *Dutchman*. Most of the *Romish Saints* are a Cheat, and they do but blush in the *Red Letters* in the Calendar. And some of those who have the glorious Title of *Saints* bestow'd upon them, scarcely deserve the Name of *Men*. But what said the Cardinal Legate, when he bestow'd his Blessing on the People that came to see him, and when he took notice of their blind Devotion and Bigotry? *If the People will be deceiv'd, let them be deceiv'd* (said he) *in God's Name*. They were pleas'd with the Cheat, and it is not to be question'd that he was so too. And this is the Guise of the *Roman Priests* and *Shavelings*; they delight to play upon the People, to shew Tricks to the Rabble, and to impose (if they can) upon all Mankind.

* Luth. Coll. Menf.

To this Purpose they make use of *Fabulous Writers*, as *Nicephorus Callistus*, *Simeon Metaphrastes*, *Cedrenus*, *Sophronius*, and several others, who furnish their Readers with cunningly contrived Stories, Legends, and Miracles. In the twelfth Century *Peter Comestor*, (Brother to *Lombard* and *Gratian*) Author of the Scholastical History, was the grand Father of the *Legendary Tales*, so frequent since in the *Romish Church*. For so it is, Fables and Falshoods are made use of to defend their Cause, to shew 'tis all one great Fable and Imposture. They also produce forged Writings to conciliate Respect and Reverence to the Clergy and Cause, as the *Constitutions* and *Canons of the Apostles*, attributed to *Clement Bishop of Rome*; *Dionysius the Areopagite's** Writings concerning the *Hierarchy*, and several more which contain in them Rules and Orders, which do not answer the Antiquity which they pretend to. *St. Ambrose de Sacramentis*, and *St. Cyprian de Cœnâ Domini*, and *de Dispositione Cœnæ* are Treatises that are confess'd to be adulterate by the learnedest *Romanists*, and yet are quoted by some of them to prove Transubstantiation and other corrupt Opinions.

I might mention here their altering and corrupting the Original Copies of the *Fathers* and other antient Writers; for in their *Expurgatory Indexes* they blot out and cancel all that they dislike, and in other Places change their Sense by inserting what they think fit. Many things are impos'd upon the People under the Name of *Traditions*, which is a plausible Term among them. God's Word will not serve them; they deal in certain received Doctrines and Usages which they tell us are transmitted from one to another; and we may be sure then that they are increas'd and augmented, and that the Son adds to the Parent's Relation, and in time it becomes another thing. The ma-

* Prov'd to be Spurious by *Petavius*, *Morinus*, and several other Learned Men of the Church of Rome.

ny *Artifices* and *Shifts* which are used by the *Roman* Doctors have done them great Service. I know none that are such Shufflers as they, unless they be *Socinians*; and *Italy* foster'd both. Here I might mention the *Glass of the Trinity*, to solve the Saints knowing our Wants on Earth; the Doctrine of *Concomitancy*, to answer the Objections against communicating in both Kinds; and Abundance of the like strain'd Inventions, Elusions, and Fallacies do they make use of to support the Cause. Satan hath his *Wiles* and *Devices*, and his Servants learn of him: Accordingly we read of the *Slight of Men, and cunning Craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive.* Eph. iv. 14. Popery had its Rise and Progress by these Arts: It grew up and increased by Forgery and Falshood, by Lies and Fictions, by Impostures and Religious Juggle, by Holy Cheats, and *Pious Frauds*, as they themselves call them.

Fifthly, They plead *Number* and *Multitude*, and find that That hath advanc'd their Cause. They have always been gaining of Profelytes to their Church; and this Increase of their Communion hath invited and encouraged others to make it more numerous; and thence they infer that they are of the True Church, for they are told by their Doctors, that one infallible Mark and Character of the True Church is, its vast multiplying and spreading itself. But this Arguing will serve as well for *Paganism* and *Turcism*; for the Professors of the former are far the greatest Numbers of those, that have any kind of Religion. And next to the Pagan Religion the *Mahometan* hath the most Votaries. Wherefore 'tis a weak Argument that the Church of *Rome* makes use of. However, 'tis certain, that this hath been one Occasion of the Success that Popery hath met with.

Sixthly, Popery hath exalted itself by *depressing of the Civil Powers, and trampling upon Kings and Princes.* The *Roman* Catholicks are avowed Enemies to Crown'd Heads. He is a Stranger to the Writings

of these Men, who is not sensible of that Contempt and Disesteem which they entertain for the Higher Powers. 'Tis well known, that their Writers exalt the Priesthood above the Kingly Office, and Shaven Crowns above the Royal ones; yea, the very *Exorcists* in the Church of *Rome* are of greater Dignity than *Temporal Princes*, said Pope Gregory VII. Hence it is, that the Church of *Rome* exempts the Clergy from the Jurisdiction of Civil Courts of Judicature. * *Bellarmino* professedly maintains, that Churchmen are free from the Secular Power: And the Writers of best Note among them assert the same. Therefore a Bishop's Chancellor must by no means be a Layman, (which yet is not observ'd among us) for 'tis not fit that a Laick should judge Ecclesiasticks. To this Purpose † they alledge the *Mosaick Law*, *Thou shalt not plow with an Ox and an Ass*; for Laymen, if compar'd with Churchmen, are to be reckon'd amongst that latter kind. Spiritual Persons must not be tried by Temporal ones. Those are too holy to be summon'd into Secular Courts. They that appear so often at the holy Altar, and do such great things there, must not be dragg'd before a Common Tribunal. Those that take the Confession of Mens Sins ought not to stand and confess at a Bar. This was it that made *Thomas Becket* stand out so stiffly against King *Henry II.* he would not consent that the *Priests* should be tried and judg'd by the *Secular Magistrate*. Yea, it is the Decision of a great and celebrated Casuist, that || *Rebellion* in a Clergyman is no Treason, because he is exempted from the Civil Power and Temporal Judicatures.

But this is a Privilege that was not known in the *Old Testament*; for the *Priests* among the *Jews*, when they offended, were tried by the Civil Judges, and

* Lib. de Clericis.

† Lib. I. Decret. Tit. 15.

|| Clerici rebellio in Regem non est crimen læsæ Majestatis, quia non est subditus Regi. *Eman. Sa. in Aphor. Confess.*

displac'd from their Office by the Temporal Magistrate, as we may gather from 1 *Sam.* xxii. 11. 1 *King.* ii. 26, 27. And in the New Testament we read that *St. Paul* pleaded in the Civil Courts. *He thought himself happy to answer before King Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 2. I stand at Cæsar's Judgment-Seat, where I ought to be judged, Acts xxv. 10.* and in the next Verse *he appeals unto Cæsar.* And his Doctrine was suitable to his Practice, *Rom. xiii. 1. Let every Soul, i. e. every Person, whether Spiritual or Temporal, be subject to the Higher Powers.* But the *Roman* Clergy plead Exemption from the Apostle's Charge; they assert that they ought to be excus'd from the Jurisdiction of the Secular Governours; they flie from the Civil Court as incompetent Judges; they appeal from Kings to the Pope. And as for Lay-Papists, tho' they brag of their Loyalty, yet they have but little Reason to do so; for they are taught that the Pope is Universal Head over all Persons on Earth, and by that means hath a Jurisdiction over all Kings and Princes; so that none of their Subjects are bound to obey them without the Pope's Leave. Therefore no *Romanist* can be a good Subject. Crown'd Heads can't promise themselves Submission and Allegiance, if the Pope bids them resist; and he will bid them, if the Prince doth not please him. This is one way whereby Popery hath been considerably advanc'd, because he hath hereby even by Force and Violence thrust his Commands upon Sovereign Rulers.

And I will add under this Head likewise the *Excommunicating* and *Deposing of Kings.* Pope *Gregory VII.* excommunicated the Emperor *Henry IV.* and *Gregory IX.* did the same to the Emperor *Frederick II.* Pope *Innocent III.* deposed the Emperor *Philip,* and would have treated our King *John* in the like manner, if he had not submitted to him in the vilest and basest way. Queen *Elizabeth* was excommunicated by Pope *Pius V.* and King *James* was excluded from the Succession to the Crown by two Briefs of the Pope.

Pope. And this is not only matter of Fact, but it is held to be good Doctrine by the *greatest Divines of the *Roman Church*, that the Pope may justly depose an Heretical Prince, and set up another in his Room. And this is not only held by single and private Persons, but it is the Doctrine that is maintain'd by the Decrees and Determinations of *Popes and Councils*. This was the Decision of *Gregory VII. Urban II. Gregory IX.* the Councils of *Lateran* under *Alexander III. and Innocent III.* the Councils of *Lyons, Vienna, Constance, Lateran* under *Leo X. and Trent.* If the Popes do not claim the Doctrine of *Deposing of Kings*, why did the Clergy in *France*, in the Year 1682, condemn it in the solemn and publick Determinations they made? But I ask, how can any of the Communion of the Church of *Rome* dissent from and determine contrary to the *Decrees of Seven Councils*, and those reputed *General* ones too? How can they be True *Roman* Catholicks and Members of the Church, if they directly oppose, contradict, and deny the Doctrine which is confirm'd by their Spiritual Fathers and Governours, and who are acknowledg'd by them to be Infallible? There is nothing more clear than this, that 'tis the avow'd Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, that Popes may depose Kings, and absolve their Subjects from Allegiance, and give away their Kingdoms. So it is concluded in those Councils before named, and more particularly in the *third Canon* of the fourth Council of *Lateran*, held in the Year 1215, which was own'd to be a General Council by that of *Constance*.

Seventhly and lastly, to comprise all that belongs to this Subject; Popery was begun and carried on by *all manner of wicked Practices*, and therefore could not but be agreeable and acceptable to vitious Persons, who are always the greatest Numbers. The Begin-

* Mariana, Bellarmine, Baronius, Suarez, Valentia, Card. Peron, Parsons, Cresswell.

ning of *Papal Rome* was not unlike that of the *Pagan* one, which commenc'd in Theft and Robbery, Lewdness and Rape ; for they violently stole away and ravish'd the Daughters of the *Sabines* to get themselves Wives. Old *Rome* was at first peopled by a Crew of wild and debauch'd Fellows, and by admitting to it all *Malefactors*. It was at first an Asylum for the outlaw'd, a Refuge for the profligate, and for Men of desperate Fortunes. There all Delinquents might be safe ; which call'd in great Numbers from all Parts ; Villains, Murderers, Whoremongers, Thieves, Debtors, &c. and all these are in *Rome* still. The Old *Romans* bore for their Ensign an *Eagle*, the most Greedy and Rapacious of all Birds : and they themselves were of the same kind. All things furious and savage may be observ'd in the Rise of that People. *Romulus* and *Remus*, the Founders of *Rome*, were said to be begot of *Mars* ; and the former of them at the Beginning of his Government embrued his Hands in his Brother's Blood. And such was the Beginning of *New and Papal Rome*, and of its Founders and Authors. They laid the Foundation of it in Blood and Slaughter. *Harvey's Hypothesis* is true ; the *Bloody Point* was the first *Root of Vitality* with them. Popery began under *Phocas* the Emperor, who murder'd *Mauritius*, his Master, the preceding Emperor, and barbarously kill'd his Wife and Children before his Face. *New Rome* treads in the Steps of the *Old* one : It is a Shelter for Criminals, an Asylum for Assassins and Murderers. It is suckled by Wolves, and is itself one. *Rome* is a Bird of Prey, and finds perpetual Work for its bloody Talons. As it sprung from Bloodshed and Violence, so it hath been ever since upheld in the same way. The Dread of Fire and Faggot hath made Proselytes to the *Roman Church*. Compulsion and Cruelty have brought them in Worshipers ; as they say, the *Indians* worship the Devil for Fear of being hurt by him. This is the Case of those who are under the Jurisdiction of the *Roman Church* ;
they

they must comply with her Superstition and Idolatry, or they must be forc'd to it by the Inquisition, or by the Stake. This latter hath been the usual Infliction on those that were voted to be Hereticks. Or if those of this Character escap'd this Punishment, when alive, they must undergo it after Death. Thus, tho' *Wickliff* was quietly laid in the Grave, yet forty Years after his Body was taken up and burnt by the Order of the Council of *Constance*. So the Bones of *Bucer* and *P. Fagius* were taken up and burnt to Ashes in *Queen Mary's* Reign. Yea, the Archbishop of *Spalato's* Body was used after the same manner. A right *Roman* Usage indeed to *burn the Bones of the Dead*! But now it is become an Act of Inhumanity, Cruelty, and Barbarity, and is design'd to frighten Men out of Heresy, and to compel them to embrace the Errors and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*.

Here might be mention'd the bloody Persecuting of the *English* Protestants in *Queen Mary's* Days; the *Parisian* Massacre in the Year 1572, when, at the ringing of the Great Bell of the Palace, all the Papists were to fall upon the Protestants, and murder them: and Edicts were sent into all Parts of the Kingdom to execute the same barbarous Design. This horrid Massacre was disguis'd under the Pretence of a Marriage between the Prince of *Navarre* and the King of *France's* Sister. At *Paris* the Wedding was to be solemniz'd, and so it was; and the whole Body of the Protestants was gather'd together there: At which time, upon the Word being given, the Admiral and other great Persons were murder'd, and the Slaughter of about thirty thousand Men follow'd within few Days. I might mention the *Gunpowder Conspiracy* in *King James I.'s* Days; the Massacre executed on the Protestants in *Ireland* by the Rebels there in forty one and forty two: the inhuman Butcheries on the poor *Waldenses* in *Piedmont*, in the Year 1655: the last merciless Cruelties in *France* on the *Hugonots*, which began in 1683. Yea, Cruelty is so natural to Papists,

that they unmercifully fall on their own kind; witness the poisoning of the Emperor *Henry VII.* in the Wine of the Eucharist, which was given to him; witness the assassinating of *Henry III. and IV. Kings of France*: witness the *Sicilian Vespers* in 1582, when all the *French* of that Isle were massacred at the tolling of a Bell. Look where you will, and you will find the Papists a bloody Generation; yea, those of their own Communion feel their Revenge. But their utmost Rage is exercised against those they brand with the Name of *Hereticks*, that is, the Professors of the Protestant Faith: even out of Principle they persecute these. He that can like *such a Religion*, deserves to be of it, that it may be his Punishment as well as his Choice.

And *Rome* is notorious for all other villanous Outrages, as well as Cruelty and Slaughter. The Popes themselves have been not only Murderers, but, by the Confession of the *Roman* Historians themselves, Persons of most profligate Lives on other Accounts; they have been profane and impious, lewd and scandalous, and to be abhorr'd by all good Men. Pope *John XXIII.* was generally call'd a Devil incarnate, and several others in that See deserv'd that Name, if we may credit their own Writers and Historians. Thus Popery was maintain'd and supported; thus the Errors and Superstitions of the *Roman* Church were promoted and establish'd by Persons of this Rank and Character: for a wicked Life naturally inclines Men to embrace evil Doctrines, and to betake themselves to an undue Worship.

I will observe here, that Popery grew up to what it is, by all that is blame-worthy and bad in *all Ranks* of Persons; *Prince, Clergy, and People*. These all did as it were conspire to contribute something towards it. Some of the *first Rank* promoted it by a sneaking and low Spirit, by a servile Submission and Truckling to whatever the Popes thought fit to propound to them, and impose upon them. Thus it was the Fault of some of the *Emperors*, that the Antichristian Cause grew

to

to so great a Height. And sometimes there was Policy in the Case ; some Princes and Emperors, that they might themselves attain to a more Arbitrary Sway, suffer'd the Churchmen to use their Liberty to an Excess. They stood in need oftentimes of the Clergy, and therefore they found it necessary to indulge them, and to permit them to tyrannise, in Spiritual Causes especially, that they themselves might do so in Temporal ones ; and at last they could not restrain them from usurping the Civil Power.

The *Second Degree* of Persons which I mention'd were the most forward and zealous in this Work ; they were the principal Agents in erecting the Papal Kingdom. The Overseers and Guides of the Church became supine and careless, and did not attend to their sacred Employment ; so that (as was observ'd before) *whilst the Husbandmen slept, the Enemy sow'd Tares among the Wheat* ; false Doctrines and Errors crept in, and were not perceiv'd and taken notice of. But tho' Churchmen were forgetful of their Office, and neglected their proper Duty, yet they were mindful of their Gain, and were very greedy of Preferment and Honour. By these two Engines, *Avarice* and *Ambition* (of which I particularly spoke before) Popery was screw'd up to its Height. Their chief Design was to purchase Wealth and Grandeur, Dominion and Authority, and thereby they set up their Temporal Kingdom, and became Lords over Men's Bodies, as well as their Souls.

The *third and last Rank* are the *People*, who willingly contributed toward the erecting of a false Religion : for they were easily carried down with the Stream of corrupt Times, and they were forward to entertain those Doctrines which were acceptable and plausible, by reason of the Indulgence which they gave to Mens Lusts and Vices ; and they had a great Kindness for those Rites and Ceremonies, which were gay and pompous, and gratified the outward Senses. *At what time the Babylonians heard the Sound of the*
Cornet,

Cornet, Flute, Harp, Sackbut, Psaltery, Dulcimer, and all kinds of Musick, they fell down and worshipp'd the Golden Image. Dan. iii. 5. and they would as easily have worshipp'd any thing else, that had been set up before them. The ravishing Musick, the Gaiety, the Pomp, the sensual Pleasure that accompanies the ceremonious Religion of the Roman Babylon make the People enamour'd with it, and by this Charm the Priests can make them do what they will. 'Tis here as it was in Gentile Rome ; the Lords and Grandees used to exhibit Stage-plays and Shews, to make themselves popular thereby, and to cajole the Multitude : So the People are dealt with by their Ecclesiastick Managers, who labour to please and gratify them, and to make them very easy and quiet by that Histrionical Service which they entertain them with ; by that outward Shew and Pageantry of Devotion, which is void of inward and real Sanctity. Thus Popery is advanc'd by the Infatuation of the Common People. And thus we see by what Ways and Methods, and by whose Procurement the Religion of the Papists was set up. Every Man brought his Ear-rings to make up this Golden Calf. All Ranks and Degrees of Persons clubb'd towards it ; some more and some less, but every one contributed something.

And this farther is observable from the whole, that *Popery* grew up by *Degrees*. Whether you respect the *Corruption of Doctrine*, or the *Degeneracy of Morals*, or the *Tyranny and Usurpation* of the Church of *Rome*, (which three things make up *Popery*) they all were *Gradual*. In this the *New Rome* is like the *Old* one, which had a very contemptible Beginning ; for under its Seven Kings the *Roman Territories* reach'd no farther than sixteen or seventeen *Italian Miles* : so the Power of the *Church of Rome*, together with its Errors and Corruptions, came on by little and little. There was an insensible Deviation even of the first Churches from the Apostolical Rule and Practice, 'till the Degeneracy and Apostacy ended in that we call

Popery,

Popery, which was set up at the Beginning of the seventh Century, *i. e.* six hundred Years after Christ. And this likewise gradually increas'd, and by certain Steps got up to what it now is. When it was first hatch'd and brooded, it was weak and poor, and could not be thought to be able to arrive to its present Greatness and Strength. We are told, that the *Crocodile*, of all the Animals we know, grows to be the * greatest from the least (for the Eggs are not much bigger than those of a Goose.) It is certain that the *Roman Church* and *Polity* (which in some things too manifestly resembles that mischievous Creature) began low: but no other ever climb'd up to that Height; none ever mounted to that Pitch. At first there was not a Word of a *Treasury of Saints Merits*, and *superabundant Satisfaction*, and these in the Pope's Disposal; there was no *celebrating of the publick Service in an unknown Tongue*; there were no *Private Masses*; there was no *Receiving in one Kind only*. And as for the *Publick Mass*, it was not form'd all at once; it was brought to what it is by several Popes; one inventing one Part, and another another; so that it was several Years coming to its Perfection. The *Introit* was brought in by one Pope; the *Kyrie eleyson* by another: Such a *Colleet* at one time; such at another. And so for the vast Number of *Ceremonies* used in it, they were introduc'd by Degrees, and at last arriv'd to this Superstitious Monster of Devotion. The other Corruptions in Doctrine, Worship, and Manners, advanced also leisurely, and they ripen'd by Degrees, and in the two last Centuries but one the Church of *Rome* came to the very Height and Zenith of its Glory and Splendor.

For now the *Canonists* with their *Decrees*, *Decretals*, &c. and with their several *Comments* on these gave it a fine Gloss and Shape. The Writers of the

* Εξ ελαχίστου μέγιστον γίνεται. Herodot. l. 2. c. 68.

Sentences and Sums, with all the *School-Divines*, fashion'd it yet more exactly. The *Casuits* did their Part likewise; for they being Directors and Guides of Mens Consciences led them to Practices inconsistent with Religion, they gratified their corrupt Inclinations to serve the Interest of the Church of *Rome*, and to bring Men over to a liking of the Corruptions in Doctrine and Worship. These together with the *Homilists* agreed to corrupt the Simplicity of the Gospel, to entangle and obscure Religion, to perplex Men's Consciences, and to debauch Morality, and by all this to shape and frame Popery in the most accurate Manner. The *Jesuits* most dextrously help'd the Cause forward; and pack'd *Councils* and *Synods* were yet more serviceable; as those of *Constance*, *Basil*, *Lateran*, and *Trent*. But this last did the Pope the best Service of all Conventions and Assemblies of that Nature; because it made all the Errors and Corruptions of the *Roman Church* to be Articles of Faith, and by a formal Law legitimated all the wicked Practices of it.

This is the State of the *Roman Church* at present; that Church, which some so brag of, and whence they glory to take their Denomination. Even this (tho' it was once otherwise) is become the Fountain of Error and Vice. It is with them, as with the *Jews*, God's People, the only Nation that worshipp'd God aright and knew his Mind; yet they grew at last corrupt both in their Principles and Actions; they preferr'd Traditions before the Law, and the Commandments of Men before the express Injunctions of God. So is it with the *Roman Church*; we deny not their primitive Purity and Glory; we willingly acknowledge it to have been the renowned Nursery of the Gospel, and the Residence of the Saints, and the Nourisher of the true Faith, and the Seat of the Martyrs. For 'tis not to be denied, that all the Bishops of *Rome* (except one or two) for the first

first three hundred Years suffer'd Martyrdom, and laid down their Lives in Defence of Christianity. * From the Beginning, saith *Sozomen*, it was the School of the Apostles, and the Metropolis of Piety. And the antient Fathers are very free in their Praise of her. But the Church of *Rome* did not continue long in her Virgin-State; her Beauty was soon tarnish'd, her Glory obscured and sullied, and she hath long since degenerated from her former Innocence and Purity, and hath abandon'd the true Faith, and is debauch'd in her Manners, and hath corrupted the pure Worship of the most High. So that it may be said of her, as of *Jerusalem*, *Esai. i. 21. the faithful City is become an Harlot*; and that is the ignominious Name that is given her by *St. John*, who foretold this Degeneracy and Corruption.

Having thus enquir'd into the Causes and Occasions of the *Rise*, and *Progress*, and the *several Advances* of *Popery*, I proceed in the last Place to exhibit a brief View of the Causes and Occasions of *the Decay* of it at the *Reformation*, and of the *Reviving* of the *Protestant Religion*, that is, the *Christian Religion*, as 'tis purged from the Corruption of *Popery*. Here I will shew first, that God alone, secondly, that God, in Concurrence with fit and proper means, was the Cause of this wonderful Change.

First, *God himself alone*, as he was just, and as he was merciful. As he was the former, he exercis'd his Severity and Vengeance on the *Roman See* for their unsufferable Tyranny and Cruelty, and for their most horrid Prophaneness and Impiety: for *her Sins had reach'd unto Heaven, and therefore God remember'd her Iniquities. Rev. xviii. 5. True and righteous were his Judgments: for he hath judg'd the great Whore, which did corrupt the Earth with her Fornication. Rev. xix. 2.* Which Words, tho' they are spoken concerning a

* Ἀποστόλων σχολήριον καὶ ἐκκλησίας μητρόπολις ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινωσκόμενα.
Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 8.

final Destruction of the Spiritual *Babylon*, yet they may be applied to the present Case, because that Vengeance of God on *Rome* at the *Reformation* is a Fore-runner and Pledge of that other more dreadful and complete one, before the Consummation of all things. Again, the *Mercifulness* and *Goodness* (as well as the *Justice*) of God was engag'd in this Cause. Out of Compassion to the distressed and deplorable Condition of his Church, which had so long groan'd under the Tyranny of *Rome*, he was pleas'd to give her Relief, and to restore her to her antient Purity. This was an Act of Divine Love and Kindness to his People, as well as of Severity and Punishment to his Adversaries.

Secondly, God brought this to pass by *certain Means, which were proper and seasonable, as*

I. God rais'd up *Eminent Students* and *Divines* to lay open and reprove the Corruptions of Popery. In every Age since the Papacy hath had footing, some have boldly stood up for the Truth: In the most corrupted Times some godly Men have appear'd against the Antichristian Powers.

I shall give a *complete Catalogue* of these afterwards, and therefore shall now only mention those few happy Instruments that more immediately were made use of either for preparing the way to the Reformation, or were actually concern'd in it. Of the *former Sort* was *John Wickliff* in *England*, who appear'd and preach'd against *Rome*, in the fourteenth Century, about *A. D. 1370*. He may be justly stiled the First Great Reformer: Then *John Huss*, and with him *Jerom* of *Prague* in *Bohemia*, in the Beginning of the fifteenth Century. These would not suffer the *Roman* Church to have quiet Possession; but manfully disturb'd her, and kept up in Mens Minds the Sense of those Errors and Wickednesses which were maintain'd by her; and convinc'd many of a Necessity of an Alteration and Amendment. Of the *latter kind* were *Luther* and *Calvin*, of whom I have spoken before.

fore. I am only to observe now, that God by them effected those great things which we see; and in them was beheld the remarkable Power of God, who was pleased to stir them up to produce so wonderful a Change in the World. Especially as to the former of them, the Almighty Hand of God was most eminently manifested. For what could a poor *Frier* creeping out of a *Cloister* do? He was advised by his Friends to get into his Cell again, and to ply his Prayers, and not to venture to undertake so arduous and hazardous a Task as to preach against the Pope, and to attempt so impossible a Work as the Reformation. But see the Providence and Power of God! this mean inconsiderable Frier was a Match for the Pope; he was enabled to withstand all the Force of *Rome*; he marr'd their Markets of Indulgences and Pardons, which brought them in such Stores of Gold, and by preaching and writing so influenc'd upon Multitudes of Persons, that they abhorr'd and abandon'd the *Roman* Doctrines and Superstitions.

II. Some *Great Men and Princes* (as well as Students and Divines) were by God's over-ruling Providence made instrumental in the *Reformation*. Even in the worst Times of Popery, some of these withstood the Tyranny and Usurpations of the *Roman* Pontiff, and discountenanced some of the Superstitions, false Doctrines and wicked Practices of the Church of *Rome*. Especially toward the actual furthering of the *Reformation*, some secular Personages and Grandees were very serviceable. Whether this be the right Interpretation of those Words, *The Earth helped the Woman*, Rev. xii. 16. I'll not here dispute; but this is certain, that the Princes of the Earth were helpful to the true Church in this Juncture. They favoured the Cause of Protestantism and the Professors of it. Herein was the Hand of God, that secular Interest should be mix'd with the Reformation, to make the latter more easy and smooth. Reasons of State led the *German* Princes to favour *Luther*

ther and his Doctrine. It was their Interest to bring down the Greatness of *Charles V.* who was tyrannical, and designed to enslave the Princes of the Empire. So in *England*, *Wickliff* and his Doctrines were favour'd by *John of Gaunt*, a great Man; and afterwards God rais'd up that magnanimous Prince *Henry VIII.* to shake the Walls of *Rome*, and to prepare the Way for the Reformation. To this end God made choice of the two next Princes that succeeded him on the Throne, the one of a far different Temper, the other of a different Sex; the one a Youth, the other a Woman; and both of them promoted the Protestant Religion by the Civil Power which God had intrusted them with.

III. God made use of *Human Learning*, and the Professors of it, to make way for the Reformation of Religion. I shew'd before, that the Corruptions of the *Romish* Church were set up and promoted by Ignorance. On the contrary, when Learning and Knowledge flourish'd, the Superstitions and Corruptions of *Rome* began to be disliked. I remember that *Tertulian* in his *Apology* tells the Pagans, that Jesus Christ came into the World when Human Knowledge and Literature were at their Height. And *Clemens Alexandrinus* in his *Stromata* hath the like Observation, and takes notice that Philosophy in some measure disposed Men for the Gospel. Nor can it be denied, that the * best of Orators, the best † Historians and § Antiquaries, and the best || Poets, were about our Saviour's Time. It is likewise as certain, that Human Learning and Skill in Arts and Sciences usher'd in the *Reformation*, and made way for the *Protestant Religion*. A little before the Introduction of it, the sophistical and barbarous Way of the Schools grew out of Fashion, and Persons betook themselves to the

* M. T. Cicero.

† Diodor. Siculus, Dionys. Halicarn. Livy, Salust, Pliny.

§ Strabo, Varro, Mela. || Virgil, Horace, Propertius, Ovid.

Study of useful Learning: To which purpose there were many things that about that time, by the Disposal and Providence of God, wonderfully concurr'd. Several learned *Greeks*, as *Chrysoloras*, *Bessarion*, *Gemistius*, *Trapezontius*, *Gaza*, *Calcondilas*, &c. fled out of their Country upon the *Turks* invading them, and thereby the *Greek Tongue*, which before was a Stranger, and scarce known in the West for some hundreds of Years, came to be studied and understood: For these Natives of *Greece* coming into *Germany* and *France*, began to teach it in these Parts, and it was marvelously propagated and increased.

And farther it is observable, that in the Middle, and towards the latter End of the same Century, that is the fifteenth, not only the Knowledge and Study of the *Greek Tongue*, but of the *Latin* also, and all kinds of useful Learning, which had been buried above six hundred Years, were now happily revived and restored. A great Number of learned Philologists, Philosophers, Physicians, Poets, Historians, appeared; whose Wit and Parts, and great acquired Learning, brought the Darkness and Ignorance of Popery into Disgrace: Such were *Laurentius Valla*, *Baptista Platina*, *Al. ab Alexandro*, *Regiomontanus*, *Picus Mirandula*, *Hermolaus Barbarus*, *Pomponius Lettus*, *Rudolphus Agricola*, *Jovianus*, *Pontanus*, *Savonarola*, *Naucerus*. These and several others help'd to chase away that Barbarism and Sottishness which had prevailed in those Times.

And then another great help towards the restoring of Learning, and consequently of Religion, was the Art of *Printing*, found out in *Germany* by *John Gutenberg*, *A.D.* 1440. It was used at *Mentz* first, then in *Italy*, and so propagated to other Countries, and was very serviceable towards the advancing of the *Reformation*. And likewise the erecting of *Publick Schools* of Learning, contributed much towards the dispelling of Ignorance, and consequently of the *Popish Errors* and of *Superstitions*. In the fourteenth

Century there were founded *Universities* at *Heidelberg*, *Prague*, *Cologne*, *Erford* in *Germany*, and at *Racovia* in *Poland*. In the ensuing Century there were founded no less than six in *Germany*, viz. in *Rostock*, *Friburg*, *Tubing*, *Ingolstadt*, *Mentz*, *Hanaw*; and one at *Bafil* in *Switzerland*; and three in *Scotland*, viz. at *St. Andrew's*, *Glasgow*, and *Aberdeen*. At the Beginning of the sixteenth Century there was an *University* begun at *Wittenburg*, and another at one of the *Frankforts*. These all proved serviceable for the promoting of Knowledge, and for the reforming of Religion.

And about this time these great Wits and eminently learned Men shew'd themselves in the World, and thereby struck the Ignorant out of Countenance, *Angelus Politianus*, *Volaterranus*, *Melancthon*, *Comineus*, *Erasmus*, *Budeus*, and soon after other brave Men, as *Alciat*, *Scaliger*, *Turnebus*, *Ramus*; and Sir *Thomas More* and *Linacre* in *England*. These were Restorers of Learning, these were made to purge that Age, to reform the Schools, and to expose the Ignorance and Superstition of the Monks. These being skill'd in all Polite Learning, revived the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors that were almost lost, and translated old *Greek* Writers, and mended their Faults, and wrote learned Comments upon them. But above all, *Erasmus* had Learning and Virtue enough to make that Age (though so ignorant and vitious) understanding and good. That great Treasury of Knowledge was sufficient to stock that Age, and enrich it, as poor as it was. He spoke and writ so much Sense, and was so justly admired for it, that he was invited by Kings and Princes into *Germany*, *Italy*, *England*, and other Parts of *Europe*; and wherever he came, left some real Proofs of his instructing the World, and polishing Mankind. Hence Barbarism and School-Follies were disused and laid aside, and the Clergy began to read the Holy Scriptures in their original Tongues; and People were every where more knowing,

ing, and the Corruptions of *Rome* were more and more espied and disliked. Therefore this I assign as another Cause and Spring of the Decay of Popery, and the promoting of a Reformation, viz. the Increase of Knowledge. *Good Literature* introduced *Protestantism*. *Greek* and *Latin* were Forerunners of *Reformation*. The restoring of Learning was one means of retrieving the Knowledge of the true Religion.

Lastly, Another Occasion of the *Decay of Popery*, and of the introducing of a *Reformation*, was the wicked Lives and Practices of those that were of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. It is a Saying recorded in their own Books*, that the worst Christians of *Italy* are the *Romans*, of the *Romans* the *Priests*, of the *Priests* the *Cardinals*, and of the *Cardinals* the *Popes*. And it had been observ'd before by another,† That those People that were nearest Neighbours to the Church of *Rome*, the Head of their Religion, were the most Irreligious. The Bishops lived in Luxury, and follow'd the Pleasures of the Court; the Monks and Friars lived idly and wantonly; and the Secular Clergy (as well as the Regular) were lewd and dissolute, and took no Care of their Charge: and the Consequence of this was, that the Peoples Lives were loose, disorderly, prophane, and wicked; that is, they lived according to the Pattern that was set them. It is no wonder therefore that *Nicolaus de Clemangis*, *Petrus de Aliaco*, *Gerson*, and other sober and wise Men in the beginning of the fifteenth Century cried out aloud for a *Reformation*. And particularly in *England*, the scandalous Lives of the Priests and Friars were the Occasion of their Downfal in King *Henry VIII.*'s Reign: For the Nobles and Gentlemen, and the Common People, were Spectators of their vile and ungodly Deeds, and took notice how unanswerable their Actions were to their Profession;

* Machiav. in I. Dec. Liv. c. 12. l. 1. † Sandys *Europæ Speculum*.

and thereupon they hated them, and took the first Opportunity of laying them in the Dust.

More especially I will observe, that those *very Vices* and *Enormities* which were serviceable toward the *introducing* and *establisbing* of *Popery*, were useful afterwards for the *checking* and *bridling* of it, and extirpating some Part of it: As first, *Cruelty* and *Bloodshed*, which set it up, and always went along with it, and were incorporated into it, render'd it hateful and detestable. Stripes and Imprisonment, the Stocks and the Dungeon, and the Stake itself, are certainly no very charming Allurements in *any Religion*; and why they should be in the *Roman*, I know not, which is made up of Inhumanity, Cruelty, and Barbarity. It was the Cruelty of the *Spanish* Inquisitors against the Protestants in the *Low Countries* and *Holland*; (for by the way we must know, that the *Spanish Inquisition* was, by the Advice of the *Dominican* Friars, design'd at first against the *Moors* and *Jews* in *Spain*, who observ'd their own Ceremonies, but soon afterwards it was used against the *Protestants*, and with great Fierceness; as Acts of Parliament with us, of the thirty fifth of *Elizabeth*, and the fourth of *James I.* which were made first against *Popish Recusants*, have been since executed against *Protestants*;) it was the Cruelty, I say, of the *Inquisition*, that was one great Occasion of the Revolt of the *Dutch* from the *Spanish* Dominion; for they were not able to endure the savage Insolence and Tyranny of such Masters. Thus it is plain that that *bloody Spirit*, which first *set up Popery*, was serviceable to *pull it down*.

The same may be said of their *worldly* and *sensual Spirit*, their Covetousness, Pride, and Ambition. For when Persons find that Religion is founded on Gain and secular Advantages, and nothing else; that spiritual Good is pretended, but in reality the World is design'd; when they perceive that the Conversion of Men and their Salvation, and the Welfare of their Souls are talk'd of, but nothing is so little regarded; when

when they behold Men making a shew of looking toward Heaven, but making the Earth their Business, they are naturally inclined to dislike such Men and such a Religion, and, as soon as they can, to cast off both.

Again, the *Lewdness* and *Uncleanness* of the Professors of the *Romish* Religion rendred them and it extremely scandalous. At *Rome* the Shambles were shut in *Lent*, but the Stews were open at the same time; yea, these were permitted at all times, and Fornication was allow'd by Law. The Popes follow the Example of the Emperor *Caligula*, who imposed a Tax upon this sort of Houses. The Curtezans in *Rome* pay the Pope a *Julio* apiece weekly, for his licensing their Trade. In *Spain* there are mercenary Strumpets (*Cantonera's*) that are countenanced by Authority. The *Cortagiane's*, or Prostitute Women in *Venice*, are above twenty thousand: And this sort of People are more frequently at Mass than any other, and most of them wear *St. Francis's* Girdle (as a certain Mark of extraordinary Devotion) about them. Who hath not heard of the *Italian* Cardinal, who was sent over into *England* by Pope *Honorius II.* about the Year of our Lord 1125, to declare against the *Marriage of Priests*, and to persuade those of the Clergy who had Wives, to divorce them; and accordingly he made a very warm Oration in Praise of Virginity, and the same Night was taken in Bed with a Harlot? Yea, the worst and most execrable Lewdness was practised by those that vow'd Chastity and Monastic Severity. *Monks* and *Sodomites* were convertible, and many *Roman* Catholics were *Meritorii* in the worst and vilest Sense. And this without doubt bred in sober Minds an Abhorrence of the Church which occasion'd or favour'd such horrid Practices, and reminded them of coming out of *Sodom*.

So likewise did the *Perfidiousness*, *Hypocrisy*, and *Deceits* of that Church. *John Huss* had the Faith of the Emperor given him for his safe Conduct, and yet

the *Council of Constance* thought not fit to observe it; and accordingly he was put to death. Their Maxim was, that *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*. And *Bellarmino* * holds, that this is Part of the Pope's *Power of loosing*, which he derives from *St. Peter*, namely, a Power and Right of dispensing with Laws, Promises, Covenants, Vows, and Oaths. This is the Cardinal's Divinity, and it is agreed to by the Generality of that Church; and consequently they impose upon and abuse the Faith of Mankind, and break asunder the Bonds of Truth and Honesty. But this Practice, together with all their Cheats and Impostures, their Lying and Equivocating, did justly cause them to be abhorr'd and abandon'd by those who were Lovers of Truth and Sincerity.

Moreover, the *Vanities*, and *Follies*, and *gross Abuses*, and *Corruptions*, which accompany their most solemn Acts of *Religion* and *Worship*, gave occasion to good and wise Men to relinquish them. Indeed their Church, like some gaudy Strumpet, was made up altogether of Ornaments and Bravery. She may be portray'd as *Apelles's* Scholar painted *Helena*; who, tho' he could not make her fair, made her rich, and loaded her with good store of Gold and costly Jewels. Shew and Pageantry, Gaiety, Pomp and Splendor, and outward Formality, are the true Character of the *Roman* Worship. These are the *Prime*, and these are the *Compline* in all the Popish Service; these are the *first*, and these are the *last* in all their Devotions. Herein they emulate the *Pagan* Worshippers, who are lavish of their Gold and Silver, and precious Stones, when they deck their *Idols*. The Popish Idolatry is such, and we have plain Proofs of it in the Richness of their Shrines and Images, and in the splendid Sump-
tuousness which is to be seen in their Worship. This could not but be very offensive to the Pious and Sober, and truly Religious, who knew that this is in-

* De Pontif. Rom. l. 1. cap. 13.

consistent with that spiritual Service which God requires. Besides, they could not but dislike the *wild Rituals* and *Ceremonies* which the Church of *Rome* abounds with, and the wild *Rationales* they give of them.

They could not but detest the several ridiculous Gestures and Postures of the Priests at *Mass*, who behaved themselves at that time like *Jugglers* and *Mimicks*: Whence *Hocus Pocus* is but the corrupt Pronunciation of *Hoc est corpus*. Who could approve of their conjuring Exorcisms, their Holy Water and Holy Salt, their Consecrated Oils and Herbs, whereby they undertook to drive away Diseases, to fright away wicked Spirits, and to eject Devils out of the Bodies of the Possessed? Who would not abhor their Profanation of the Sacrament of Baptism, in *baptizing of Bells*? Who would not entertain with Derision that Practice which was used near *Rome*, namely, that all *Horses*, *Mules*, and *Asses* were brought by the Owners, and sprinkled with holy Water on the seventeenth Day of *January*, because 'tis *St. Anthony's Day*, who was Patron of those Animals? But the profane Usages and irreligious Observances (yet under Pretence of Religion) that were common among the superstitious and deluded *Romanists*, are so various and numerous, that it is impossible to give the Reader the Detail of them.

I might here mention their *Monastick Vows*, in which they placed a great deal of Religion. I deny not that *Paul*, *Anthony*, *Hilarion*, *Macarius*, primitive Hermites, retired out of a religious and pious Design. I deny not that some honest and well-meaning Souls repaired to Monasteries afterwards. Discontent and Melancholy drove some thither. There are some that would live at Ease, and be rid of the Crosses and Cares of the World, and thought this as a good Expedient for it. But generally those that came within these Walls had been infamous Sinners, and had spent their Estates in Riot and Luxury, and were brought

to Beggary by their dissolute living. So that Want forced them to take sanctuary here; and they came into these Cloysters, because they could not be any where else. They put on the Guise of Religious Persons, because they had no other way to live, or because they were idle, and would not take pains to maintain themselves.

It is well known, that some of the cloister'd Fraternity, whilst they pretended Poverty, raked together great Sums of Money; they preach'd Contempt of Riches, and were greedy in the Pursuit of them. It was observed, that even some of the *Mendicant Friers*, who passionately declared against Wealth, prey'd upon the Simple, and fetch'd Money out of them by Craft and Subtilty. They profess'd Poverty, to make it serviceable to their Gain. Like common Beggars, they used the Name of *God* and *Christ* only to get something by it. Yea, to say Truth, some of these *Beggars* were *Merchants*.

And whereas of old those of a Monastick Life took up in Deserts, Forests, Rocks, and Places not cultivated; and retir'd from Civil Employment and Offices, to addict themselves to Contemplation and Heavenly-mindedness, and to shake off the World's Pleasures: the Case was now alter'd; for these Votaries harbour'd in the greatest and best Cities, and had stately Dwellings Gardens, Furniture, &c. It was observed, that here in *England* the Religious Houses were seated in the best Counties: There was but one of them in all *Westmorland*, and not one in *Northumberland*. And farther it might be added, that whilst these Persons made their boast of Chastity, many of them were discover'd to be guilty of great Lewdness and notorious Impurities. This made them loathed by all Lovers of Purity and Continence, and justly exposed them to Ruine.

And so as to all the other Instances of the Wickedness and Licentiousness among those of the *Roman Church*, it might be shew'd that they contributed towards

wards their *Downfal*. And lastly, their *false* and *erroneous Doctrines* (of which I am particularly to treat afterwards) did so in a signal manner: For intelligent and considerate Persons examin'd them thoroughly, and found that they were derogatory to the *Truth* reveal'd to us in the *Holy Scriptures*, and therefore exploded them, as not to be allow'd of by Christian Men. Thus the Errors and Vices, and the innumerable Enormities of the Church of *Rome*, did by the overruling Providence of the Almighty, occasion that great Blow, that fatal Shock which she underwent at the *Reformation*.

I conclude with the following *Reflections*.

First, Let us entertain our Thoughts with the *Character* I have given of *Popery*. I have drawn its Picture; but I must not be blamed, because it is ugly and deformed: I have been true to the Original, and that is what was required on my part. I have shew'd, that absurd Opinions and unlawful Practices are allow'd and maintain'd by Popery; that it strikes not only at *Truth* but *Holiness*; that it is as much against a *godly Life*, as against the *right Principles* of Religion. It is an Advocate for the worst things, Treason, Bloodshed, Perjury, Lying; it destroys Faithfulness, Loyalty, Truth, Sincerity, Mercifulness; it encourages Ignorance, Pride, Idleness, Sottishness, Will-Worship, Superstition, Blasphemy, Idolatry, Tyranny. And there is nothing so vicious, so immoral, so monstrous, but is countenanced by it. Whence we may gather, that the Popish Religion is not of God: For that Religion cannot be from him, which teaches Men to do any thing that is immoral or vicious. But yet I can't say that I have given the full and compleat Portraiture of Popery. For tho' 'tis said the Lion is not so fierce as he is painted, yet Popery is far worse than it appears, and is *beyond* all the Representations that can be made of it. If we should come nearer to it, and experience it once again in these Countries, we should find it even far worse

worse than it was before. Like the Devil cast out, it will return with seven other worse Spirits than in former times. It will be more rampant than ever, and our Slavery will be doubled, and our last Estate will be worse than the first.

Secondly then, we are obliged to bless the divine Goodness for the *Reformation*, with which all Blessings came in great Abundance. I would humbly advise to have a *Prayer* and *Thanksgiving* put into our Liturgy, to express our Desires and Thanks with respect to this Matter. [*From the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome*] was once Part of our *Litany*, but since left out. It would be acceptable to all true *Protestants* to have something of that Nature inserted again; some Words to express our devout and thankful Resentments for our Deliverance from Popish Ignorance and Slavery, and all the Evils that attend these two. The Word *Reformation*, saith * *Luther*, is more hated at *Rome* than Thunderbolts from Heaven, or the last Day of Judgment. The more it is detested by the *Romanists*, the more grateful let it be to us; and let us not only rejoice at the Word, but in the Thing itself, and with thankful Hearts praise the Almighty for this so pregnant and comprehensive a Blessing.

Thirdly, we ought to take care that our Lives and Practices be answerable to so great a Blessing. It is to be fear'd, that the Reason why the *Reformation* hath not been bless'd with a farther Progress is, because the Lives of the Reformers, and those that adhere to the Reformation, are very faulty. We have the best Religion, and yet many of us lead the worst Lives. Our Worship is free from Superstition and Idolatry: but it wants Zeal and Fervour. Our People have no *Latin* Prayers, nor unintelligible Devotion; but we contradict our Prayers by our wicked Practices. We enjoy the Gospel in its Purity; but

we are unthankful and unfruitful under it. We have much Knowledge; but we walk unworthy of it, and live not according to our Light, and therefore we may justly expect that this Blessing may be removed from us, and Darkness succeed in its room. It is not a *Church-Reformation* that will suffice, as we see in that Example of the Jews, 2 Chron. xxix. 16, &c. *They cleansed the House of God, and brought out all the Uncleaness that they found in the Temple of the Lord; they threw off all Idolatry, and restored the outward Worship of God.* This was just before the Captivity, and one would think it might have been serviceable towards the Preventing of it. But we find in the Account given of that People in the next Chapter, that tho' they clear'd the Temple, they did not purge themselves; they cast away their Idols and Images, but did not abandon their evil Manners; they threw down the Altars, but sacrific'd to their own Lusts. There was a Party among them, that despised the Admonitions of God and of King *Hezekiah*; when they were invited and exhorted to Repentance, *they laugh'd them to scorn, and mocked them, &c.* 10. It is no marvel then, that the *Assyrians* were sent to punish them for this prophane Obstinacy. Let us make this our Case, as indeed it is; and let us know that it is not (as hath been said) a bare *Church-Reformation*, without the *Reformation of our Lives*, that will skreen us from the Divine Vengeance. We may look for Popish Thralldom again, if we continue in our licentious Practices. Yea, they will make way for it, and we shall deserve to be brought under that Religion, which countenances all Immorality and Lewdness. Wherefore let us think seriously of this, and as we are desirous that we may not come under the Papal Yoke again, let us take care of our Lives and Manners. It is this alone that will preserve us from it; it is this that will make *Protestantism* thrive and prosper.

Hitherto the INTRODUCTION.

Ad



An APPENDIX to the INTRODUCTION.



It may not be unseasonable to obviate an *Objection* or *Cavil*, which is rais'd against the *Reformation from Popery*, which I have been treating of. It is said, that this was the Source of innumerable Swarms of Sects in Religion; this open'd a wide Door to Heresies and false Doctrines, to Quarrels and Contentions, and even to Sedition and Rebellion; and therefore the Reformation being the Cause of these, it can't be approved of, yea, it must needs be condemn'd by all wise and sober Men.

But this is a great Mistake, and such as no wise and sober Person will be guilty of; for it can't but be observ'd, that when a Reformation in Religion is set on foot, there is always a fierce Opposition made against it, and against the Promoters of it; and Tumults and Riots are rais'd, and wild Opinions and Doctrines are spawn'd, and there are great Disorders and Disturbances every where. Thus when the *Christian Religion* was introduc'd, Variety of Sects and Heresies arose with it, and the evil Spirit and his Agents were more outrageous than ever, and Persecutions and Slaughter were the Entertainments that the sincere and undaunted Professors of the Christian Faith met with. So when the Apostles after our Saviour's Ascension were zealous in reforming the Minds and Manners of Men, and pressing the Holy Religion of Christ Jesus upon them, a vast Multitude of Hereticks sprang up presently among the Christians themselves, and the Pagan Magistrates breath'd out Blood and Slaughter among

mong them. But who is so rash and unreasonable as to pronounce Christianity to be the Cause of this miserable Scene of things at that time?

Certainly it is as great and inexcusable Rashness to blame the *Reformation from Popery*, because of the Diversity of Opinions, and the Outrages which accompanied them in those Days, and to impute these Disorders to the Reformation itself, and to condemn *Luther's* pious Enterprises, because there arose about that time *Muncer*, *John of Leyden*, *David George*, and several other seditious Fanaticks; and because *Antinomians*, *Anabaptists*, and *Anti-trinitarians* shew'd their Heads in those Days.

If the Reader will give me leave, I will mention here a Parallel Case which happen'd upon the *Reformation* set on foot by the *English* Senate in King *Charles* the first's Reign, when they were apprised of the Danger they were in by the encroaching of Popery and Arbitrary Government. It was well design'd and carried on in the Beginning by Persons of Loyal and Religious Principles, of great Sobriety and Probity, and profess'd Members of the Church of *England*: and yet it was attended soon afterwards with the breaking out of Sects and Heresies, and variety of wild Errors, and very scandalous Practices and Disorders. But those are very foolish, rash and injudicious Persons, who impute these Evils to the *Reformation* which was then attempted.

The true Cause of them was a formal Shew of Worship among the greatest Part of the Clergy, without true Devotion and the Power of Godliness. This Hypocrisy and Feint of Religion could not but end at last in Diversity of Opinions and Sentiments about Religion, when People observ'd how little of true Religion and Sanctity was in the Lives of their Teachers; and how external Pomp and Shew were more regarded than inward and solid Piety. And this affecting of ceremonious Rites and Gaiety took off Mens Thoughts from the Essential and Substantial Parts of Religion,

Religion, and made them fit to entertain any loose Opinions, and employ their Heads about *them*, rather than to attend to the Practical Part of Christianity. Besides, the Clergy themselves were divided, and thereby encourag'd the People to imitate them. The greater and governing Part contended for those foremention'd Rites and Ceremonies; some of which were justly offensive, because they favour'd of Superstition: But the Admirers of them resolv'd never to part with them, but always to uphold them, and to impose them on *all Persons* with the utmost *Rigour* and *Severity*.

Here was the true Date of the Civil Wars, which soon follow'd. Many cry out of *Forty one*, but it was *Thirty one* that destroy'd us, when Bishop *Laud* came to be great with the Prince, and presently afterwards ascended the Archiepiscopal Throne. Those are remarkable Words which an Eminent Clergyman of our Church hath left us upon Record, **The Miseries of the Civil War were not owing to the Separatists and Sectaries (for these were afterwards brooded in Cromwell's Army) but to the Quarrels and Distinctions made between the Church of England Men themselves.* And as for the Sects and Heresies which were so numerous, besides what hath been suggested before concerning the Rise of them, let me add this; that one true Cause of those Evils was the rejecting that Church-Government which was then offer'd, and which would effectually have stifled those Errors and Blasphemies which were then broke out. But no more of this. It is enough for our present Purpose, that Attempts of *Reformation* have always met with *Opposition* and *Discouragements*, and have not been without very bad Consequences; and therefore we are not to judge of the Reformation itself by these unhappy Attendants, but rather to esteem and value it, because wicked Instruments are rais'd up and made use of by Satan to resist and oppose it.

* Dr. Nicholl's Preface to his Commentary on the Common Prayer.



T H E
Controverted Doctrines
 B E T W E E N
 P A P I S T S and P R O T E S T A N T S
 Distinctly Consider'd, &c.



Come now to my main Business, that is, to treat particularly and distinctly of the several Doctrines which are held and profess'd by those of the *Roman* Communion, and which are peculiar to them, and constitute the Religion of that Church. And here these four things I will undertake in the handling of every distinct Doctrine.

I. I will prove the Point to be the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. For I see, that some Popish Writers are bold to tell the World, that *Protestants* confute them in that which they never held: Therefore I have resolv'd in all these Points first to make it appear, that a Papist is of *this Opinion*. Seeing they
 say

say we misrepresent them, I will take care to satisfy the Reader, that they really hold and maintain those Propositions which I charge them with. Some few Writers perhaps may be cited, who have asserted otherwise: I do not deny it; but we speak of the *General Sense* of the *Romish Church*: And whence should we take that, but from the *Publick Offices* of their Church, or from their *Catechisms* set forth by Authority, and particularly that which is call'd the *Roman Catechism*, authoriz'd by the Council of *Trent*, and universally receiv'd by all those of the *Roman Communion*, or from their own *Councils* acknowledg'd by them, or from the most celebrated and admired *Doctors* of their Church, whose Writings are authorized, and whose Books come forth with the Permission and Approbation of their Superiors? This is the only way of knowing what is a *Popish Doctrine*, strictly and properly speaking; and accordingly I will make it clear, that the following ones are such, that is, that they are vouch'd and confirm'd by some or all of these Evidences before mention'd. By this means I shall make it manifest, that our Adversaries are not charg'd wrongfully.

II. Having truly represented the Point, and shew'd it to be the Sense of the Church of *Rome*, I will enter upon the *Confutation* of it, and prove it to be a false and groundless Opinion; and I will shew that the contrary Doctrine of the *Protestants* is true and solid, and built upon substantial Grounds. I shall all along make choice of the best and most approved Arguments; such as the *Reason* of the thing itself discours'd of; the *Testimony* of *Antiquity*, that is, of the *Fathers* and antient *Councils*; and (which is the solidest Proof of all) the clear Revelation of God's Will, which the *Holy Scriptures* furnish us with.

III. I will attend to the *Allegations*, *Objections*, and *Arguments* made use of by our Adversaries, and endeavour to return a full and satisfactory Answer to them.

IV. And

IV. And lastly, in the Close of the several respective Points I will adjoin some brief *Inferences* and *Reflections*, which the foregoing Matters have suggested to me. This is the Method that I shall generally observe in my Discourses on the several Heads, and for the most part in that very Order and Series which I have here set down.

And after I have thus distinctly treated of the several Points of Popery, I will not conclude before I have return'd a satisfactory Answer to some *General Cavils* and *Exceptions* (for the *Particular* ones I consider all along as I go thro' the several Heads) which are rais'd against the *Protestant Religion*, and what is held by some *Protestants*. And I shall shut up all with a full Explication of the *Description of Antichrist*, and his final Fall and Destruction, as we find them represented in the Writings of the New Testament, especially in the Book of the *Revelation*.



CHAP. I.

Of the POPE'S SUPREMACY.



Begin with the Foundation of all Popery, namely, the *Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome*. All *Roman* Catholicks assert his Universal Empire and Dominion: They believe and profess that he is appointed by Christ to be sole Prince and Monarch of the Church upon Earth. This is a most weighty and important Doctrine; and if we may believe **Bellarmino*, who

* Agitur de Summâ rei Christianæ. *Pref. de Rom. Pontif.*

treats of it, the main Substance of Christianity is concern'd in it. This is indeed *Popery* itself; which in the strict Sense of the Word is, to maintain the *Pope* to be *Head and Governor of all Churches in the World*.

In the first Place I must clear this, that the Church of *Rome* holds this Point, and that it is one Article of the *Roman Religion*. Some of the chiefeft and most approved Writers among the Papists tell us, that his Holiness is as far above Emperors and Kings and all States in the World, as the Sun is above the Moon, and Heaven above the Earth, and the Soul above the Body. This is the usual Strain of Rhetorick among the Popish Authors, when they are setting forth and blazoning the Pope's Supremacy. Some represent it as a Power to depose Kings and Princes at his Pleasure, and to dispose of all Things and Persons as he thinks fit; and so they make it an absolute and unlimited Power. It is true, all the *Roman* Catholicks do not expressly and directly assert the Papal Supremacy to reach thus far, that is, to contain in it all *Temporal* Power over Kings and every one of their Subjects; but the *Generality* of Writers of the *Romish* Church maintain it, and it passes for true Doctrine. However, the Pope's *Spiritual* Empire over all Christendom is unanimously held by all that are of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, without any Exception. None deny him this Power and Prerogative to call Councils; to ratify their Decrees; to make Laws for all Churches; to bind and loose; to be the Head and Monarch of all Christian Men: Yea, they hold, that those, who do not own him to be such, cannot possibly be saved. They are the very Words of the fifth *Lateran* Council, under Pope *Leo X.* * *It is necessary to Salvation, that all Christ's faithful People*

* De Necessitate Salutis existit omnes Christi fideles Romano Pontifici subesse. *Sess.* 11.

should be subject to the Bishop of Rome. The Council of Trent likewise is peremptory in this, that the Pope hath * *Supreme Power on Earth over the whole Church.* Yea, they make it an Article of their Faith : For in the twenty third Article of their Creed they acknowledge the Church of Rome to be the Mother and Mistress of all Churches ; and they promise and swear true Obedience to the Bishop of Rome, the Successor of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and the Vicar of Jesus. After the Determination of these Councils, it is no Wonder that the Chief of the Roman Doctors thus positively speaks, † *The Pope is immediately appointed by Christ the Pastor and Head, not only of all particular Churches, but also of the whole Universal Church taken jointly.* This is agreed to by all the Pontifical Doctors : They all with one Voice proclaim the Pope to be Universal Bishop, and his Diocese to be as wide as the World.

That this is a false Notion, and an unreasonable Assertion, and consequently that the contrary Doctrine is supported by Truth and Reason, I will make good, First, from the Invalidity and Vanity of *that very Thing* on which they ground the Pope's Universal Headship. Secondly, from the Determination of *Scripture.* Thirdly, from the Suffrage of the *Fathers,* and *Antient Writers.*

First, if we enquire into the *Reason or Ground* of their asserting the Bishop of Rome to be Universal Ruler of all Churches in the World, we shall find that it is invalid and vain. They tell us, that the Pope hath this Prerogative by the Mediation of St. Peter, *i. e.* Christ gave it to Peter, and he gave it to his Successors, who are the Bishops of Rome ; and so the *Supremacy* is entail'd for ever on all that sit in the Papal Chair. Peter was the Prince of the Apostles, and in him Christ founded a Monarchy in the Church. And as he was Bishop of Rome this peculiar Power

* Scil. 14. c. 7.

† Bellarm. de Concil. Author. l. 2. c. 15.

was deriv'd from him to his Successors in that Bishoprick. For we must not think, that the Primacy of *Peter*, as he was an Apostle and the Bishop of *Rome*, died with him, but that it descended to the successive Bishops of that See; and consequently every Bishop of *Rome* claims to be Universal Head of the Church. This is the Ground of the *Supremacy* maintain'd by the Church of *Rome*; but I will shew how precarious and unreasonable it is. For first, whereas they ground the Pope's Universal Headship on St. *Peter's* being Head of the Apostles, we are to know that this was not a Headship of Jurisdiction and Power, but only of Precedency. St. *Peter* is named *first* in the Evangelical Writings only for Order's Sake; and because he was one of the first that came to Christ, and because he was the eldest of the Apostles; but as to *Power*, all the Apostles were alike. This is freely owned by St. *Cyprian* and St. *Jerome*, as we shall see afterwards; but at present I shall produce one or two Passages out of the latter only. **Therefore, saith he, one is chosen out of the twelve Apostles, that the Occasion of Schism might be taken away by his being constituted Head.* It was for Order's Sake. In the same Place he saith, that †*Peter's Precedency was owing to his Age.* And in another he tells us, that *Peter* had such a Primacy among the Apostles as ‖*Plato* had among the Philosophers, who was call'd the Prince of them. And to this purpose speak many other ancient *Fathers* of the Christian Church, as I shall make it appear, when I come to insist upon these *Topicks*.

Or suppose, St. *Peter* had a *Personal Primacy*, as he was Head of the *Apostles*, what is that to the *Bishops*

* Propterea inter duodecim Apostolos unus eligitur, ut capite constituto schismatis tollatur occasio. *Contr. Jovinian. cap. 14.*

† Aetati delatum, quia Petrus senior erat.

‖ Ut Plato Princeps Philosophorum, ita Petrus Apostolorum fuit. *Dialog. 1. adv. Pelagianos.*

of *Rome*? When the Apostles all ceased, there *could* be no Head then among them, and so there was an End of that Primacy. And besides, how doth it follow, that, because St. *Peter* was Head of the *Apostles*, therefore he was Head and Ruler of all *Churches*, and moreover that he communicated his Power over all Churches to the *Popes*? There is no manner of Consequence in this.

But they tell us, that St. *Peter*, as he was *Bishop* of *Rome*, derived this Authority to his Successors, and consequently to the *Popes*. Some make short Work with this, and take it off by saying, it can't be prov'd that St. *Peter* ever was at *Rome*: for in the whole History of the *Acts of the Apostles*, which relates the Journeys and Travels of that Apostle, there is no mention of his being at *Rome*. And there is not a Syllable in any other Place of the New Testament to prove that that Apostle was ever at *Rome*; much less that he presided there as Bishop. But in my Judgment the Faith of *Ecclesiastical History* would be too rudely and violently shock'd, if we should deny St. *Peter's* being at *Rome*. And therefore I shall not make use of this Denial in Answer to what is above alledg'd, but granting *Peter* to have been at *Rome*, I ask what is that to the Business which is before us? If we should suppose (though there is no Ground for it) that St. *Peter* had Power given him over the Church, yet it can't be prov'd that he transmitted that Power to those that succeeded him in that Bishoprick. It is a fixed Rule, *Extraordinary Power doth not pass to the Successor*; and therefore tho' Christ had given St. *Peter* an extraordinary Primacy, yet it doth not follow thence, that those who came after him in the See of *Rome* were invested with the same Primacy.

Or suppose such a Power and Jurisdiction as we are speaking of were derived from St. *Peter*, there is no Reason why it should be conferr'd on *Rome*, and fix'd there. *Jerusalem* should rather lay claim to this Privilege, for this was a Christian Church, before that

of *Rome* was in being. This was the Seat of our Lord, the Head of the Church. Here the Son of God himself preach'd; here the Apostles first establish'd Christianity; hence the Gospel was first sent forth to be preach'd to all Nations, *Luk. xxiv. 47.* and therefore not *Rome* but *Jerusalem* should claim the Precedency, and be the *Mother of all Churches*: And she is expressly call'd *so by the Fathers of the second General Council of *Constantinople* in their Letters to Pope *Damasus*. But 'tis no where said in the Writings of the Antients, that *Rome* is the Mother of all Churches.

Nay, *Antioch* hath as much Right to the Supremacy as *Rome*. The *Romanists* themselves freely acknowledge, that *Peter* was Bishop of the Church of *Antioch* seven Years; and this was before he was Bishop of *Rome*: Therefore the Privilege should be fix'd in the See of *Antioch*. Why then do not the *Antiochian* Bishops reckon themselves *St. Peter's* Successors, and why is not *Antioch* rather than *Rome* the Seat of the Supremacy? Especially, if we consider that *Antioch* was the Capital City of *Syria*, and the Place where the First Council was held, and where the Christians had their Name first, and therefore the Fathers stile it the *most Antient Christian Church*. What Reason then is there to give *Rome* the Preference to it?

Besides, *St. Peter* was at other great and eminent Places, before he went to *Rome*, and preach'd the Gospel there. It is certain, that *St. Peter* did the Office of a Pastor not only at *Antioch*, but at *Jerusalem*, and *Samaria*, and in *Pontus*, *Phrygia*, and *Cappadocia*. He founded the Church of *Cæsarea*, *Acts x. 44, 45.* And the Churches of *Corinth*, *Galatia*, *Ephesus*, *Philippi*, *Colosse*, *Alexandria*, received the Christian Faith before *Rome*. Why then do not these challenge the Supremacy, and why do not *St. Peter's* Successors in the

other Places just now mention'd set up for Heads of all Churches?

Again, if you fix the Primacy to *Rome*, the Pope's Claim should be from *St. Paul*, as well as *St. Peter*. He preach'd, and had his Residence there, being the Doctor of the *Gentiles* in that Place, as *St. Peter* was of the *Jews*. Therefore one of the antientest Writers of the Church, and who lived near the Apostles' Times, saith, that *that Church was founded and constituted by the two Glorious Apostles Peter and Paul, and from these the Succession of the Bishops of Rome is deriv'd*; a Catalogue of whom he sets down. And that *St. Paul* was Co-founder of that Church, is acknowledg'd by all the Antients. Now if this be true, (and the *Roman* Catholicks themselves confess it) if the Foundation of the Church of *Rome* is to be attributed to *Peter* and *Paul* jointly, then *Paul* no less than *Peter* was Head of the *Romish* Church: And if so, what is the Reason that the Pope's Supremacy is deriv'd from *St. Peter* only? Why do the Bishops of *Rome* claim to be Supreme, as they are Successors of *St. Peter*, and never mention the other Apostle, tho' there is as much Reason for one as the other? If those Words in *Rom. i. 5.* had been said by *St. Peter*, as they are by *St. Paul*, the Papists would have had a better Argument for the Pope's Supremacy than all they ever us'd, *We have receiv'd Grace and Apostleship for Obedience to the Faith among all Nations for his Name.* Here they might think to find the *Universal Bishop*. But *St. Paul* saith this, and not *St. Peter*: And *St. Paul* speaks of the Preaching of the Gospel, not of Jurisdiction; and he speaks in the plural, not only of himself, but all the Apostles.

And lastly, if there must be an universal Headship, *St. James* bids as fair for it as any; for he was the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, the Mother of all Churches, the Seminary of Christianity, the Fountain from whence the Gospel flow'd to all the World, and which on several Accounts (as hath been before shew'd) is preferable to

Rome: He was the first Bishop in the Christian World; he presided in the first Council that was in the Christian World, and decided the Controversy, notwithstanding *Peter* was there present at that time. *Acts* xv. 13. For which Reason * *Epiphanius* gives him the Superiority over all the Apostles, and denies it to St. *Peter*, but gives no countenance at all to the Popish Fancy, that there must be one to be Supreme over all Churches. We see then from what hath been thus briefly suggested, that St. *James* might justly have the Preheminence of *Peter*; and that if there was to be an Universal Bishop, he might lay claim to that Title. And thus we find upon Examination, that the very Foundation on which this first great Point of Popery, this leading Article of the Roman Faith, the Supremacy of the Pope, is built, is weak and sandy, and of no Force.

Secondly, I shall prove, that it is inconsistent with the Discoveries which are made to us in the *Scripture*.

If there be such a thing as an Ecclesiastical Supremacy, it must needs be mention'd in the *New Testament*; for there is laid down the whole Scheme of Church-Discipline, especially the Essentials of it; and such This of the Pope's Supremacy is, according to our Adversaries. Now there is nothing in these Sacred Writings that favours this; but, on the contrary, there is very much against it. As first, that plain Place, *Matt.* xx. 25, 26. *Jesus call'd them unto him and said, Ye know that the Princes of the Gentiles exercise Dominion over them, and they that are great exercise Authority upon them, but it shall not be so among you.* It seems the Mystery of Iniquity work'd sooner than St. *Paul* speaks of: the affecting of Primacy and Greatness even among Spiritual Men began in Christ's Time; this domineering Spirit was hatch'd even then. Some of the Apostles themselves were ambitious of Precedency and Preheminence above the rest;

But we see how our Saviour curbs this Insolency, and tells them they act rather like *Gentile Princes* than *Christian Apostles*; and he plainly tells them, that *it shall not (i.e. it ought not to) be so among them*. One would think that this should have sufficiently check'd this aspiring Humour, so that afterwards no Man, who pretends to be Christ's Vicar, should usurp Authority over the rest of his Brethren and the whole Church. It is evident from what our Saviour saith, that such a Power must not be desir'd and affected by any of his Ministers in the Church; and particularly it is evident, that Christ gave no Right or Power to *Peter* to be Head and Absolute Prince over all Christians. We read afterwards, that *Peter* was bid to *strengthen his Brethren*, not his Subjects. *Luk. xxxii. 32.*

An irrefragable Place against Papal Supremacy is *Acts viii. 14.* Now when the Apostles that were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had receiv'd the Word of God, they sent unto them *Peter and John*. It was determin'd by the Apostles at Jerusalem, that some Persons should be sent to confirm the Samaritans in the Faith which they had lately receiv'd and profess'd; and *Peter* is one that is appointed to go on that Errand, and to execute the Decree which was agreed upon among the Apostles. Which manifestly proves that *Peter* was not the Supreme Head and Ruler of the Apostles. For no Man can believe it to be probable that the inferiour Apostles (if they were so) should send their *Primate* and *Superiour* to administer their Decrees, as they did here. This is, as if the Bishops of *Italy* or *Spain* should commission the Pope to go into any Country to dispatch a Business which they had agreed upon. This would be thought very unmannerly, and inconsistent with his Holiness's Character. And the like we may with as much Reason say in the present Case, if we acknowledge *Peter* to have been Head of the Apostles and all Churches.

We may argue from *Acts* xv. 6, 22, 23. where we find the Council at *Jerusalem* consisting of *Apostles*, *Elders*, and *Brethren*, call'd the *whole Church*, and these *all together* determin'd what to do in the Matter that was brought before them ; whereas, if *Peter* had been *Supreme*, we should have been told that he had decided the Controversy ; for this Honour and Privilege belong'd to him alone.

The Apostle *St. Paul* in the Close of his Epistle to the *Romans*, salutes several Persons by Name, but *Peter* is not mention'd ; which plainly proves, that *Peter* was not then Bishop of *Rome*, no nor the Planter of any Church there ; for if he had been, *St. Paul* would not have omitted him in his Salutations ; nay, he must have been in the Front of them that were saluted.

In the two first Chapters of the Epistle to the *Galatians*, the Apostle endeavours to *equal himself* to those who were reputed the most eminent among the Apostles, and *St. Peter* amongst the rest : which it is certain he would not have attempted, if there had been one of the Apostles that was appointed by Christ to be *Superiour to them all*. In Ch. ii. §. 8. *St. Peter* is call'd the *Apostle of the Circumcision* ; which he would never have been, if he had been the Universal Pastor of the Church : For that *Apostleship of the Circumcision* confines his Office, and excludes him from presiding over the Churches of the *Gentile Christians*. *St. Paul* proceeds §. 9. *When James, Cephas, and John, who seem'd to be Pillars, perceiv'd that Grace which was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right Hand of Fellowship* : Where 'tis observable that *Peter* is not mention'd as *Head* or *Pillar* above the other Apostles, but these three are equally Pillars. Though *Peter* and *James* and *John* were Apostles to whom Christ had been more kind and favourable than to the rest, yet here we see there is an Equality among them ; and *Peter* is so far from being set above the rest, that *James* is plac'd before him. And who can think

think that St. *Peter* had the Supremacy, when 'tis said by St. *Paul*, *I withstood him to the Face, because he was to be blamed*; namely, for his unlawful Compliance with the *Jews*, and thereby giving Offence to the *Gentiles*, and hindring them from embracing Christianity? Is it credible that St. *Paul* would thus openly reprehend and rebuke St. *Peter*, if he had born that Character which the Papists fix upon him? But it is very observable, that the Holy Spirit in the Scripture, as foreseeing how the Papists would over-magnify and extol St. *Peter* and the Virgin *Mary*, hath left upon Record a considerable Check. We read, that these two Persons, whom the Church of *Rome* so highly exalts (even to an Excess) are treated very coarsely, and are reproved and reprimanded in an extraordinary way, as it were on purpose to abate of that *immoderate Esteem* which some would afterwards shew to them.

In 1 Cor. xii. 28. and *Eph.* iv. 11. the Officers of the Christian Church are enumerated, *Apostles, Prophets, Teachers, &c.* but the Principal Officer is omitted, if the *Pope* be such a one; here is not a Word of *Christ's Vicar*, or the *Universal Head of the Church*; which shews, that he is none of those Ecclesiastical Ministers, which Christ hath appointed.

If St. *Peter* had had the Headship over all his Brethren in the Ministry, and over all Churches (as our Adversaries maintain) he would not have used such Language as this, *The Elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an Elder. Feed the Flock of God, which is among you, not as being Lords over God's Heritage. And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive, &c.* 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, 3, 4. He would not have stiled himself *Com-Presbyter* (as 'tis according to the Original) he would not have declar'd himself to be a Fellow-Presbyter with the rest of the Presbyters his Brethren, if he by a peculiar Privilege had been invested with a Sovereignty and Dominion over them and all Churches. He confesses himself to be
but

but one of the many *Elders*; he is but a Colleague and Fellow with them, and how can this be reconcil'd with his Universal Pastorship and Monarchy? Besides, it were Madness to imagine, that he, who forbids the *Elders* to lord it over God's Inheritance, to domineer over the Clergy and the People, had a Power given him to himself to be Lord and Sovereign over them all. And farther, he that tells them, that they must give an Account to the *Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*, the *Chief-Shepherd*, meaning *Christ-Jesus*, was not the *Supreme Pastor* himself. And I might add, that he who bids those he writes to, *Submit themselves to the King as Supreme*, 1 *Eph.* ii. 13. knew nothing of that Temporal Supremacy which his Successors claim: For tho' they have not a Right to this *directly*, yet *Belarmine* and other Doctors hold that they can challenge it *indirectly*, and so indeed every wise Man thinks they do.

To our present Purpose it may be alledged, that *St. Peter's* Supremacy, even his Ecclesiastical Supremacy, is spoiled by what that other Apostle saith; *In nothing* (in no Gift, Endowment, Privilege, or Right) *am I behind the very chiefest Apostles*, 2 *Cor.* xii. 11. And in another place he tells us, *He had the Care of all the Churches*, 2 *Cor.* xi. 28. and therefore might claim a Supremacy, if there were any such thing. But he speaks of that Inspection which he had taken upon him as an itinerant Apostle, who was zealous to propagate the Gospel wherever he came, and to plant Churches where he found none, and frequently to visit them after they were planted; which was an extraordinary Charge and Employment, and therefore with no Reason can we make it a standing Office; and besides, those that boast of being *St. Peter's* Successors, do not pretend to any such troublesome Work.

I might adjoin this in the last place, that the Church of *Rome* in the primitive times was reckon'd only a particular Church: And we see that *St. Paul*,
when

when he writ his Epistle to it, thought it to be such, and did not treat it as the Mistress of all others. It appears then from the whole, that the Supremacy of the Bishops of *Rome* is no where founded in *Scripture*; but that it is overthrown and confuted by the Doctrine and Practice of the Apostles recorded in those inspired Writings; and it appears that by Divine Right all Apostles and Bishops were of equal Authority.

Thirdly, this feigned Primacy of the Pope is contradicted by the *Fathers* and *Antient Writers*, and by whole *Councils*, and the general Practice of the Christian Churches. St. Cyprian is very positive in this matter; * *Peter*, saith he, *whom our Lord chose first, did not insolently and proudly claim or assume to himself any thing, as to say that he held the Primacy over other Bishops or Apostles.* And at another time he acknowledges, that † *the rest of the Apostles were the same that Peter was; they equally shared in Honour and Power.* What ground then is there for those that pretend to be St. Peter's Successors, to call themselves Universal Bishops? *Frater Charissime, Dearest Brother*, was the Compellation of Cyprian to Pope Stephen, in his *Epistles* to him: Which doth not sound as if the Bishops of *Rome* in those days were Universal Monarchs of the Church, but rather acquaints us that there was a Parity among Bishops. And when the above said Stephen invaded other Bishops Rights and Jurisdictions, *i. e.* undertook to determine in Controversies which were out of his own Patriarchate, this good § Father check'd him and rebuked him severely, and in one || of his Epistles calls him *a false Apostle, a Schismatick, and a Friend of Hereticks.*

* Nec Petrus, quem primum Dominus elegit, vendicavit sibi aliquid insolentè, aut arrogantè assumpsit, ut diceret se Primatum tenere. *Epist. ad Quintum fratrem.*

† Hoc erant utique & cæteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi & Honoris & Potestatis. *De Simpl. Pralat.*

§ Vide Cypriani Epistolas.

|| Ad Pomp. Epist. 74.

That the *African* Bishops, St. *Augustine* the chief, would not acknowledge *Appeals to Rome*, is so well known, that I need not insist upon it. And before this, when Pope *Victor* grew imperious, and excommunicated the *Asian* Churches for observing *Easter-Day* not according to the Custom of the Western and *Roman* Churches, *Irenæus* sharply reprov'd him. Few are ignorant what the Judgment of St. *Jerome* was in this Point: * *In whatsoever Place any Bishop is seated, whether at Rome, or Eugubium, or Constantinople, &c. he is of the very same Merit, of the same Priesthood; that is, the Bishops of these Sees are all alike.* And as for those that attribute a secular and temporal Sovereignty to the Pope, they forget what was antiently said, † *The Common-wealth is not in the Church, but the Church in the Common-wealth*, that is, in the *Roman Empire*. And they are unmindful of what another learned Father hath averr'd, namely, that § *to tack the Civil Power to the Priestly, is to join things that are not to be joined.*

We have the Suffrage of some of the Bishops of *Rome* themselves on our side. In the Letter sent to King *Lucius* from *Eleutherius*, then Bishop of *Rome*, the last Words are these: || *Through God's Sufferance rule you the Kingdom of Britain; for in that Kingdom you are God's Vicar.* And yet now the Pope, as God's or *Christ's Vicar*, challenges a Power over all Kingdoms and Churches: Which shews that the Title is perverted, and that the Challenge contradicts the Practice of the first Bishops of *Rome*. One that was himself a Pope, proclaim'd his Dislike of the Universal Headship of the Bishops of *Rome*; I mean *Pela-*

* Ubicunque fuerit Episcopus, five Romæ, five Eugubii, five Constantinopoli, &c. ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est Sacerdotii. *Epist. ad Evagr.*

† Non enim Respub. est in Ecclesiâ, sed Ecclesia in Repub. id est, in Romano Imperio. *Opinat. Milevit.*

§ Πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἰσοσύνη συνάπτειν, τὸ κλέπτειν ἐκ τῶ ἀσύγκλωστο. *Synecf.*

|| *Epist. Eleuth. ad Lucium Regem, in Spelman,*

gius II. who when *John*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, A. D. 580. assumed to himself the Title of *Universal Bishop*, writ to the Bishops whom the Patriarch at that time had called together in a Synod, to acquaint them that it savour'd of Pride and Usurpation of the highest nature, to take that Name upon him. And another Pope, *Gregory I.* surnamed *The Great*, who succeeded *Pelagius*, was very much incens'd at this arrogant Behaviour of the *Constantinopolitan* Archbishop. He declares, that none of his Predecessors ever assumed to themselves such a * *profane Title*. And he declared, that this Pride and Insolency of *John* was a Sign that *Antichrist* was at hand: He peremptorily pronounced that such a one is † *Fore-runner of Antichrist*.

Thus we see of what account the Doctrine of *Supremacy* was six hundred Years after Christ. And we see that the Bishops of *Rome* in those days were of another Judgment than those afterwards, yea, than those a little time after. For about seven Years after this, Pope *Boniface III.* prevail'd with the next Emperor, and got the Title that *Gregory* was so much against. He obtain'd it, I say, of the next Emperor, namely, *Phocas*, who had been an Officer in the Emperor *Mauritius's* Army, but deposed the said Emperor, and barbarously murder'd him, his Empress, and all their Children and Kindred, and then ascended the Imperial Throne himself. So we see the Rise of the *Papal Supremacy*; we see how the Bishop of *Rome* came by it, and we find that *Phocas* the bloody Emperor must be thank'd for it: For by his leave Pope *Boniface III.* took upon him the Title of *Universal Bishop*, and ever since the Bishops of *Rome* have challenged to themselves that Privilege, and every Pope claims to be the Head of all Churches. But from

* Greg. Epist. 32.

† Ego fidenter dico, quisquis se Universalem Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua *Antichristum* præcurrit, quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit. Epist. l. 8. Vide Epist. l. 2. ad Maur. Epist. 32, 36, 38. Epist. ad Eulog.

the Beginning it was not so, yea not till about six hundred Years after Christ. The last Pope but one before this *Boniface*, that is, *Gregory I.* manfully opposed this Usurpation, and (as you have heard) condemned it as *Antichristian*.

But we have not only the Testimony of single Bishops and Fathers, but the joint Suffrage and Votes of whole Councils against this. When Pope *Victor* carried it very high, and usurp'd over the Eastern Bishops, and excommunicated them, for not observing *Easter-day* in the same manner as the *Romish* Church did, not only *Policrates* and *Irenæus* withstood this rash Censure and Practice, but a complete Council in *Palestine* vigorously opposed it, and stood up for the contrary Practice. The first *Nicene* Council, holden *A. D.* 325. decreed the Bishop of *Rome* should be content with his own Diocese, and not pretend a Supremacy over the other Patriarchs. They are the exprefs Words of the sixth Canon of that Council: *Ἀρχαῖα ἐν καθεδρῷ, &c. i.e.* "Let the antient Customs continue in force that are in *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and *Pentapolis*; that the Bishop of *Alexandria* have the Government of all these, forasmuch as the Bishop of *Rome* also hath the like Custom: And so likewise throughout *Antioch* and in the other Provinces, let the Churches have their Prerogatives kept up." Which Canon plainly determines the Bounds of the *Roman* Jurisdiction, as well as of other Churches. *Rome*, and *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, have distinct and proper Jurisdictions, and they must not entrench upon one another. The Council makes the Pope's Government in his Province, the Form of that Government which should be in the Province of *Alexandria*: Which shews, that the Pope's Government reach'd but to his own Province; for had it stretch'd itself over all the World, it would have been no Form or Pattern for *Alexandria*. We see here, that the Church of *Antioch* is commanded to keep her particular Privileges and Rights, and the

Bishop

Bishop of *Alexandria* is confined to his: And it is said, that the Bishop of *Rome* hath the *like Custom*: Therefore the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* were to be equal with the *Roman* Bishops; for there is no *Likeness* between an Universal Bishop and a Provincial. From the whole it is evident, that the Church of *Rome* had no Primacy over other Churches, but that it claimed only those Privileges which were common to it with other Metropolitan Sees.

There are other Councils that may be mention'd, as that of *Constantinople* (the first General Council there) which sat about *A. D.* 383, and in their first Canon ratified all that was done in the *Nicene* Council, and particularly decreed against the Bishops of *Rome's* Supremacy over all other Bishops. There was a third General Council, that of *Ephesus* *A. D.* 431. which in its eighth Canon confirm'd the former Council of *Nice*. A fourth General Council, that of *Chalcedon* *A. D.* 451. in their first Canon ratified the foregoing Councils, and particularly decreed, that the Bishop of *Constantinople* should be equal with the Bishop of *Rome*. And to these I may add the third Council of *Carthage*, which was held about *A. D.* 390. and positively decreed that the Bishop of *Rome* should not be call'd Universal Bishop, but be confined to his own Precincts. And this is plain from the History of the several *Patriarchates* into which the Christian Churches are divided; viz. that of *Rome*, under which were *Italy* and other Churches of the West; that of *Alexandria*, under which were *Egypt* and *Pentapolis*; that of *Antioch*, under which was *Syria*; that of *Jerusalem*, under which was *Jewry*; and afterwards that of *Constantinople*, which *Justinian* in Honour to his Country added to the rest, and appointed the Bishop of *Constantinople* to have a Patriarchal Power and Authority, equal with that of the other Patriarchs. The Patriarchs of these Places rul'd and govern'd in their respective Territories, but no where else: Which demonstrates the Pretences of

the Bishops of *Rome* to an Universal Jurisdiction to have no Footing in Antiquity; and that those that reverence the antient Fathers and Councils must condemn the Doctrine of the Pope's Supremacy.

I might add farther, that we are certainly informed from Ecclesiastical History, that National and Provincial Synods have reform'd things about Faith and Religion without the Leave of the Pope: Which shews, that the Bishop of *Rome* had Jurisdiction only in his own Precincts, which were call'd the *Suburbicarian* Churches. It may be added likewise, that the Pope's Supremacy is not own'd by the *Greek Church*, the *Armenian*, *Abyssine*, and *Nestorian* Churches. And to come down lower, we know that the *Pragmatical Sanction*, a Law of *France*, curbs the Pope's Jurisdiction there. And 'tis acknowledged, that the **French Church* at this day owns not the Supremacy of the Pope. As for the *British Churches*, that they were never under the *Roman Patriarchate*, but were always free from its Jurisdiction, is solidly proved by Bishop *Stillingfleet* in his *Orig. Brit.* Chap. III. We are not subject to foreign Appeals, but have had all Controversies ended within our own Limits. All these things which I have alledged, evince the Truth of what I undertook to make good, namely, that the Church of *Rome* hath its Bounds, and that the Pope hath not an Universal Jurisdiction.

This is a Truth extorted from our greatest Adversaries; and so it often happens (as I shall shew in several of the following Points which I am to treat of) that Truth will sometimes make its way forcibly thro' the very Mouths of our professed Enemies. The fiercest Doctors and Patrons of Popery give their Testimony here. † Cardinal *Cajetan* confesses, that all the Apostles were equal in Authority and Power; and consequently *St. Peter's* Principality and that of

* Pithæus de lib. Eccl. Gallic. c. 3. Bochartus l. 5. de Decret. Eccl. Gallic.

† De Author. Papæ & Concilior.

the Pope is cashier'd, and the Monarchical State of the Church is baffled. So * *Bellarmino* unwarily acknowledges that the Apostolical Power was alike, and that the Apostles had the same Authority over Christian People. Which Confession gives the Cause a mortal Stab, and is a plain Demonstration that the Papal Supremacy, which they say is derived from the Apostle *Peter*, is a gross Error imposed on a great Part of Christendom; and that the *contrary* is a great and undeniable Truth, and such as ought to be embraced by all People, *viz.* that the Church and Bishops of *Rome* do not exceed other Churches or Bishops in Power and Authority.

But they make use of *Scripture* to prove and uphold their Doctrine; and therefore in the next place I am engaged to consider the Texts which they produce, and to shew how vainly and impertinently they are alledged. Not to trouble the Reader with the fond Quotations of some, such as the first of *Genesis*, *the greater Light to rule the Day, and the lesser Light to rule the Night*; whence it was attempted (as § *Luther* tells us) to prove the Pope's Supremacy. I will take notice only of those Places which the most serious Doctors of the *Romish* Church are wont to make use of. The main Text is *Matt. xvi. 18. I say unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.* Whence the Bishop of *Rome* claims a Right to govern all Churches and Kingdoms in the World. He must be Universal Bishop and Catholick Vicar, because it is here said that *Peter*, who was the first Bishop of *Rome*, is a Rock, and that the Church is to be built on this Rock, and consequently the Successors of St. *Peter* are the Rock and Foundation, the Head and the Pillar of Christ's Church, and are Lords and Rulers of it. This is the strong Reasoning of the *Romish* Doctors from this Text; which may easi-

* De Rom. Pontif. l. 1. c. 9. & 12.

§ Coll. Mens.

ly be baffled by what hath been said *already*, when I subverted the very *Ground-work* and *Foundation* of the Doctrine of the Pope's Supremacy. But I shall at present enquire into the Words themselves, and shew, that there is nothing contained in them whence one may rationally infer this Doctrine. For most of the *Fathers* interpret this *Rock* not concerning *Peter*, but the *Confession of Faith* which he made, *ψ. 16.* So *St. Chrysostom* in his first Sermon on *Pentecost*, He said [upon this Rock] *he did not say [upon Peter] for he built his Church not on Man, but upon the Faith of himself.* And in his fifty fifth Homily on *St. Matthew* he expressly saith, that *the Rock is the Faith of Confession.* *Epiphanius* agrees to this, and expounds our Saviour's Words thus: * *On this Rock of sure Faith I will build my Church.* Other Greek Fathers, as *Cyril*, *Gregory Nazianzen* and *Nyssen*, *Theodoret*, *Isidore of Pelusium*, *Theophylact*, say the very same. Among the *Latins* *Hilary* is very expresse: † *On this Rock of Confession*, saith he, *is the Church built: This Faith is the Foundation of the Church.* Tho' *St. Austin* interpreted those Words [on this Rock] of *Peter himself*, yet sometimes he interprets them of *Christ himself.* This is to be seen in his Works, and particularly in his § *Retractions*, he leaves Men to their Liberty to interpret the *Rock* either of the *Confession* or the *Person*.

And truly this learned Father was in the right: For as to the matter before us, both the Interpretations amount to the same thing, and neither of them make for the Supremacy. Those Fathers that understood by the *Rock* *Peter* himself, mean no more than this, that *Christ* would make use of *Peter* as an eminent Instru-

* Επὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ ταύτῃ ἡ ἀσφαλὲς πίστις οἰκοδομησά μεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Adv. Hæres. lib. 2.

† Super hanc igitur Confessionis petram Ecclesiæ ædificatio est. Hæc Fides Ecclesiæ Fundamentum est. De Trin. l. 2. c. 6.

§ Harum autem duarum sententiarum, quæ sit probabilior eligat lector. Lib. 1. c. 21.

ment to build his Church, to preach the Gospel, to convert Souls, to propagate Christianity. * *Peter is called the Rock, saith, St. Ambrose, because he was the first that laid the Foundation of Faith among the Nations.* Christ tells this Apostle, who had made so worthy a Confession of his Faith, that he would build his Church on him, or that *Peter* should first lay the Foundation of the Church, among the *Jews* and among the *Gentiles*; the former of which was fulfilled in *Acts ii. 41.* when three thousand Souls were converted by his Sermon on the Day of *Pentecost*; and the latter was accomplish'd when he preach'd the Gospel to *Cornelius* and other *Gentiles*, *Acts x. 31.* Thus I grant that the Church's Foundations were laid by *Peter*: But the rest of the Apostles laid Foundations as well as he; and therefore Christ might truly say, that on them he would build his Church. Accordingly we read of the *Foundation of the Apostles*, *Eph. ii. 20.* not of one Apostle only, but of all. *He gave some (viz. Apostles) for the edifying of the Body of Christ, Eph. iv. 11, 12.* *St. Paul* saith of himself, that *as a wise Master-builder he had laid the Foundation*, *1 Cor. iii. 10.* He, as well as *St. Peter*, had this Honour. *The twelve Apostles are the twelve Foundations of the City of the new Jerusalem, Rev. xxi. 14.* Thus 'tis evident, that what was said by Christ to *Peter* was in common to all the rest; other Apostles besides him were *Rocks*, But *Peter* had some Preheminence above the rest, for he *first of all* converted *Jews* and *Gentiles*, as appears from those fore-cited Places in the *Acts*. This I grant; and yet hence nothing can be deduced to make *Peter* or the Pope Universal Bishop. This is all; Christ tells that Apostle, that he shall be the first Preacher of the Gospel, by whose means Men shall be converted and brought into the Church, and be built up living Stones in this spiritual House.

* *Petra dicitur, eo quod primus in nationibus Fidei fundamenta posuerit. De Sanctis. Serm. 2.*

Christ himself is the principal Foundation of the Church; and therefore 'tis said, *Other Foundation can no Man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ,* 1 Cor. iii. 11. Peter himself tells us who is the *Rock* on which the Church is built, 1 Pet. ii. 4. *That living Stone chosen of God, and precious, and made the Head of the Corner,* &c. 7. But Peter and Paul, and the rest of the Apostles, were collateral and instrumental Foundations. So then Peter, and Peter's Faith or Confession, are here the same; and therefore we need not wrangle about these two Interpretations, for they meet in one; that is, Peter and the other Apostles, as they were Teachers of the Church, and instructed Persons in the true Faith, were *Rocks* and *Foundations*, and their Preaching and Confessing of that Faith are also truly said to be the *Rock* or *Foundation* on which Christ builds his Church; not because it was Peter's, or other Apostle's Faith, but because it was true and sound, and such as Christ enabled them to profess and maintain. We cannot then but be convinced from what hath been suggested, that this Text makes nothing at all for the Purpose of those Persons who quote it, namely, for the establishing of that Headship and Monarchy which the Popes, as pretending to be Peter's Successors, claim. Wherefore one of the antientest and learnedest Fathers of the Church interpreting these Words, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock,* &c. saith directly of our Lord, that * *he gave the like Power to all the Apostles, that he gave to Peter.* And another learned Father observes, that Christ ask'd all the Apostles who he was, *Who say ye that I am?* And Peter return'd that Answer, *Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God.* Because they could not all an-

* Apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuit. And again, Hoc erant utique ceteri Apostoli quod fuit Petrus pari consortio præditi & honoris & potestatis. Cyprian. de Simpl. Prælat.

swer at once, * *Peter* did it in the Name of the rest: And thence we gather, that what Christ saith to *Peter*, *On this Rock I will build, &c.* is said to all the other Apostles.

Thus we are to interpret *Matt. xvi. 19. I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: And whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.* This is to be applied to all the Apostles as well as *Peter*; the Keys were given to them all, and they had all of them Power to bind and loose. For the Grant runs in general thus: *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven, Matt. xviii. 18. Whosoever Sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever Sins ye retain, &c. John xx. 23.* Hence *St. Ambrose* rightly infers, that § *what is said to Peter is said to the Apostles.* And *Theophylact* is peremptory, that † *Although it be said to Peter only, I will give thee the Keys, yet the Keys were granted to all the Apostles.* And one of the Popes treating on these Words, *I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven,* acknowledges, that || this Power was derived to other Apostles. And we may observe, that those Papists who hold that these Words were spoken to *St. Peter*, and none else; yet, to prove their Sacrament of *Penance* and *Absolution*, they quote this Text, and say it was spoken to *Peter*, and in him to all the Apostles and all the Clergy. Thus what they assert at one time, they destroy at another; and we cannot expect, that those who maintain so ill and inconsistent a Cause, can do otherwise.

* *Petrus ex personâ omnium Apostolorum profitetur, Tu es Christus, &c. Hieronym.* § In *Psal. xxxiii.* † In *cap. xvi. Matth.*

|| *Transiit in alios Apostolos jus istius potestatis. Leo in Serm. de Apost.*

There is another Text, which they mightily boast of, *John xxi. 15. Feed my Lambs*; and *v. 16, 17. Feed my Sheep*. Which Words being spoken to *Peter*, are spoken to all the Bishops of *Rome*, and by them they are commission'd to *rule the World*: For *κυριαναι* signifies *to rule*, and they are authorized to preside over all Churches and Congregations of Christians on Earth; for this is to *feed* them. But this vain and idle Interpretation vanishes, when we consider that these Words are to be understood as those before-mentioned; *i. e.* they are to be applied to all the Apostles and Ministers of Christ, as well as *St. Peter*. * *Not without Cause*, saith *St. Augustine*, doth *Peter* represent the whole Church and all its Pastors. Thus when the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were given to *Peter*, they were conferred on the Church; and when Christ said to him, *Lovest thou me? Feed my Sheep*, he spoke it to them all. And therefore it is great Arrogance in the Bishops of *Rome* to appropriate this to themselves. And besides, what is this *feeding the Sheep*, but taking care of the Souls of Men, building them up in their most holy Faith, and in every thing acting the Part of a Spiritual Pastor and Guide? And is not this common to all the Ministers and Instructors of the Church? *St. Paul* thought so, when he thus exhorted the Presbyters of *Ephesus*: *Take heed not only to yourselves, but to all the Flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers, to feed the Church of God, &c.* And *St. Peter* (to whom alone the Papists fancy these Words [*Feed my Sheep*] were directed) uses the same Language: *Feed the Flock of God, which is among you*, *1 Epist. v. 2.* which he speaks to all the Elders or Presbyters he addresses himself to. And therefore it is evident, that *feeding*

* Non sine causâ inter omnes Apostolos hujus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ personam sustinet Petrus: Huic enim Ecclesiæ claves Regni Cœlorum datæ sunt, cum Petro datæ sunt; & cum ei dicitur, ad omnes dicitur, *Amas me? Pasce oves meas.* De Agone Christiano, cap. 30.

the Sheep and Lambs, which *St. Peter* is enjoined to take care of, is not peculiar to that Apostle, or any other Person whatsoever. This is a Command wherein all Bishops and Preachers of the Gospel are concerned. Thus the Popish Objections from *Scripture* concerning the *Supremacy* are answer'd; and we have Reason to conclude from the Premises, that the Primacy of the Bishops of *Rome* is unscriptural, as well as unreasonable.

But they alledge *Antiquity*, and produce the *Apostolical Canons* (as they are commonly call'd) wherein they imagine there is something that patronizes their Cause; tho', if it be examined, it will be found to be quite otherwise. But we may rest in this general Answer, that these Writings were never held to be of undoubted Authority in the Church; and the Style in some Places discovers them to be composed many Years since the Apostles Times.

The Sayings of the *Fathers*, and especially of *Cyprian*, are quoted to uphold the Doctrine of the Pope's Supremacy. But as to that particular Father, what I have cited already out of him may convince us that he was a profess'd Enemy to the Notion of an Universal Bishop; for we have seen, that both in Words and Actions he opposed it.

And as to the Sayings and Speeches of this Father and some others wherein they *magnify the Roman See* and *St. Peter's Chair*, it is plain to any unprejudiced Person, that they were not meant as the Papists understand them now. Whatever they say of the Precedency or Primacy of the Bishop of *Rome* and of that Church, it is to be understood of *Order*, and not of *Jurisdiction*. It is manifest in History, that the Bishops of old had Precedency according to the Dignities of their Sees, according to the Worthiness of the Places where they were Bishops: And so particularly it is clear from all the antient Writers, that the Precedency of the Bishop of *Rome* was not founded on his being *Peter's Successor*, but on the Dignity

Dignity of the City of *Rome*, which was the Head of the Empire. Therefore when *Constantinople* became the Seat of the Empire, the Bishop of *Constantinople* was made equal with the Bishop of *Rome* in the Council of *Chalcedon*, Can. 28. Whilst *Rome* was an Imperial City, the Church of *Rome* had a Principality and Superiority above other Churches which were situate in meaner Cities. The Ecclesiastical Dignity was answerable to the Temporal Government. The Authority and Privileges of the Bishops of *Rome* were deriv'd from and depended on the Grandeur and Power of the Temporal State of *Rome*. On this and no other Account the Church of *Rome* and its Bishops may be said to have had a *Primacy*, that is, of *Order* and *Dignity*, but not of *Power* and *Jurisdiction*, as I have already proved.

And whereas in Ecclesiastical History there seem to have been some *Appeals* from other Churches to that of *Rome*, which may be thought to argue the Supremacy of the latter, the true and simple Account is this, that they were not properly *Appeals*, for there was not Application made to the Bishop of *Rome* as a *Judge*, but only as a *Friend*; they desired his Advice and Counsel, but they did not tie themselves up to his Determination and Sentence.

And to shut up this Head, let not any Man support the Doctrine of the Supremacy with those Passages in the Writings of the Fathers, where *high Encomiums* and *Praises* are heaped on St. *Peter*: For this is certain, that the Fathers are as liberal in their Commendations of the Apostles St. *John* and St. *Paul*; but especially the Titles given to the latter by *Chrysostom*, are not inferior to any of those which he bestows on St. *Peter*.

There are now some proper *Reflections* to be made on the whole, and then I shall have dispatch'd this first Point.

1. See here the true *Effigies* of the *Man of Sin* decypher'd by the Apostle, 2 *Thess.* ii. 4. *Who opposeth and*

and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped: so that he as God sitteth in the Temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. With a more than *Luciferian* Pride he usurps Authority over all Powers on Earth, he blasphemously arrogates to himself the Sovereign Prerogative which is due to Christ alone, to be Supreme Head of all Churches. He takes to himself those Names and Titles, and doth those Actions which make a Shew of being a God, and not a Man. And this he doth in the Temple of God, in the visible Church of those that are called Christians. This is a true and unerring Mark of *Antichrist*; and so one of their own Popes (*Gregory I.*) declared to the World.

2. From what hath been premised, we may be established in the Truth, we having *Reason, Human Authority, Christian Practice, and Holy Scripture* to confirm us in it. On these solid Grounds we may be assured, that the contrary Doctrine is false and erroneous, and hath no other Bottom but Avarice, Pride, and Usurpation: We may be assured, that though the Bishop of *Rome* pretends to be Head of the Christian Church, yet it will be hard for him to prove that he is a Member of it.

3. Let us understand what is our Duty in Opposition to the Popish Doctrine of Supremacy. I sum up all that I have to say here, under these two Heads: First, It becomes not the Guides and Ministers of the Church to do that themselves which they condemn in others. Let not *Protestants* practise contrary to the Doctrine they hold in Defiance of *Popish Supremacy*: Let them consider how reproachful it will be to lord it over God's Heritage, to affect and practise Dominion over those who are equal with them in Office and Function. Secondly, We are all of us obliged to acknowledge Christ only to be Head of the *Catholick Church*. 'Tis true, we rightly own our Lawful and Sovereign Prince whom we live under, to be the Supreme Head in these his Realms; but
Christ

Christ Jesus alone is the invisible Supreme Head of the *Catholick Church*. *Eph. i. 22, 23. v. 23. Col. i. 18. The Government is upon his Shoulders*; and he will let the World see, that he is the Supreme Lord and Sovereign in all Churches throughout the World; for his is the *Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory for ever. Amen.*



CHAP. II.

Of the INFALLIBILITY held by the Church of Rome.



TO speak properly, there is a *Double Supremacy* held by the Church of Rome, namely, that of a Supreme Head in Matters of *Jurisdiction*, and that of a Supreme Judge in Matters of *Controversy* in Religion. I have dispatch'd the first; now I proceed to the latter, which is generally known by the Name of *Infallibility*. It is the Doctrine of the Papists, that there is in the *Romish Church* not only a Supreme Ruler and Governor, but an Infallible Teacher, Judge, or Guide, to whom all Men are bound to submit their Faith and Consciences in Religion. New Rome, like the Old one, must have an *Absolute Dictator*; only with this Difference, the one was for a Time only, the other lasts always. But here very ominously in the Beginning the *Papists* themselves overthrow *Infallibility*, whilst they are designing to establish it: For some of them say, this Infallible Guide or Judge is the *Pope*; others of them say that it is a *General Council*; a third part say, 'tis *both Pope and Council*. Thus they are in a fair way to ruine *Infallibility*, seeing they can't agree where to lodge it. They all unite

in this, that there is a Visible and Supreme Judge of all Controversies of Faith; but *who he is*, is disputed. Let us consider the three Claims distinctly.

First, It is held by many great and eminent Doctors of the Church of *Rome*, that Infallibility is placed in the *Pope*: He hath a Power to determine the true Sense of all Scripture, and all Matters of Faith whatsoever; and it is his peculiar Privilege never to *err*. The Bishop of *Rome* for the Time being is the standing Judge, the living Rule, the unerring Guide of Faith, and the unquestionable Decider of all Controversies in Religion. Infallibility is seated in the Pope alone, saith *Bellarmino*, a prime *Jesuit*; and all of that Order declare themselves to be of that Opinion. They unanimously hold, that all Matters of Religion are to be referr'd to his Arbitrement, and resolv'd into his Determination; and no Council hath any Authority, till confirm'd by the Pope. By the *Lateran* Council under *Leo X.* (*A. D.* 1516.) the Pope's Authority was determined to be above all Councils, *Sess.* 11. And in the Council of *Trent* (as well as *Lateran*) the Pope was decreed to be above General Councils and Synods.

But surely this Opinion cannot obtain with wise Men, if they consider these following Things:

1. That Popes have been *Hereticks*.
2. That they have been great *Villains*.
3. That there have been *more Popes than one* at the same Time.

1. Diverse Popes have been *Hereticks*; which spoils their *Infallibilityship*, as well as the *Succession* which they brag of in their Church. Pope *Libertus*, who ascended the Chair, *A. D.* 352. was an *Arian*. Pope *Honorius I.* about the Year 625. was a Favourer of *Eutychianism*, and was censured as a *Monothelite* by the third Council of *Constantinople*, which was the sixth General Council. *John XXIII.* was condemn'd of Heresy by the Council of *Constance*, *A. D.* 1414, for denying

nying the Soul's Immortality, and the Resurrection of the Body, and Heaven and Hell. The Council of *Basil* about the Year of our Lord 1436. condemn'd *Eugenius IV.* as a Heretick, and afterwards the Sentence was ratified by the second Council of *Nice*. This is the free Acknowledgment of the *Popish Doctors* themselves; and they are forward to confess, that Popes, * notwithstanding their Character of *Infallibility*, may be profess'd *Hereticks*. And this is own'd by the *Canon Law. Dist. 40. Can. Si Papa*: for that *Canon* saith, a Pope may be deposed from his Chair for Heresy. These are strange Notions, and such as we Protestant Hereticks (as they call us) cannot reconcile. The Pope, it seems, whilst he is immers'd in Heresy, is Infallible: He errs no more *then* than when he was Orthodox; and yet Heresy is a damnable Error. The Pope is the unerring Head and Guide of the Church, even when he is guilty of that Fault, which makes him cease to be a Member of the Church. As long as he sits in *Peter's* Chair, he retains his Infallibility, and all the Rules of Faith are to be resolv'd into his Decision, even when he departs from the Faith. He is the Judge and Umpire of Truth, tho' he revolts from it. In short, he cannot possibly err, tho' he be Heretical. I shall not wonder, that the Man who can swallow such gross Contradictions and Absurdities as these, is of Opinion that the Bishops of *Rome* are *Infallible*.

II. Yea, the Pope with his Errors of Judgment may live in the Practice of the most *Abominable Vices*, and continue in them all his Days, and yet be the Infallible Judge of all Christian Churches. We are told, that as there have been many *Heretical*, so there have been many *Impious and Wicked Popes*. One of the *Roman* Communion was not backward to say of Pope *Benedict VIII.* *Sylvester III.* and *Gregory VI.* that they

* Francisc. Victoria de Potest. Eccl. Sect. 1. paragr. 6. Bellarmin. Controvers. 4 part. 2 quæst.

were *three most filthy Monsters. And the same Author, in the Lives of *John VIII. Benedict IV. John XVI. Stephen VI. Boniface VIII.* acquaints us that they came to the Popedom by Treachery, Craft, Bribing, Murder, Witchcraft. And particularly concerning the last of these 'tis remark'd by the Popish Historians themselves, that as he was a bloody Wretch, so he met with a bloody End. Pope *Alexander VI.* tho' by his Character oblig'd to Celibacy, had two Sons and a Daughter; which latter was Whore both to the Father and Sons: whence this was part of her Epitaph,

— *Alexandri Filia, Sponsa, Nurus.*

That is, she was the Pope's Daughter, Wife, and Son's Wife. *Julius II.* and *Leo X.* who immediately succeeded the foresaid *Alexander*, were (as well as he) profess'd Atheists, and are infamous in History for the most unnatural, inhuman, and flagitious Acts. § *Luther* tells us, that one of the *Roman Pontiffs* gave himself to the Devil, to have his Help to make him Pope, yet on Condition the Fiend should not fetch him 'till he said Mass at *Jerusalem*. And accordingly, as he was saying Mass in a Chapel at *Rome*, nam'd *Jerusalem*, the infernal Ghosts came in Likeness of Ravens, and by Piece-meal carried his Body away. We have it from the same Author, that Pope *Leo* died at the very time when he was committing Sodomy. If we read *Platina* and *Naclerus* and other profess'd *Romanists*, who have writ the Lives of the Popes, we shall be convinc'd that a great Number of them were Necromancers and Sorcerers, Sodomites, Whoremongers, Incestuous, Murderers, Blasphemers, Apostates, Atheists, and the most profligate and execrable Villains in Nature. † Another Popish Writer acknowledges, that about fifty Popes (*viz.* from Pope *John VIII.* or Pope *Joan* to *Leo IX.*) degenerated from

* *Tria teterrima monstra. Platin. in vit. Pontific.*

§ Coll. Menf.

† *Genebrard. Chronolog. l. 4. Sec. 10.*

their Ancestors, and were *Apostatical* rather than *Apostolical*. Thus it was, he saith, for about an hundred and fifty Years. * Another eminent Historian of the *Romish* Persuasion would fain hide the Enormities of the Bishops of *Rome*, but he can't force himself to it; for we find that he flies out against them with great Warmth and Concernedness.

Thus I have dealt in the Papists own Authors, and have given you their Account of the Popes: And now I ask, whether there is any Probability that these are the *Infallible* Teachers, Judges, and Deciders of all Truth. Can we bring it into our Minds to believe, that such Infidels as these are appointed by God to be Masters of our Faith? Can we be persuaded that such Monsters of Men are the Conservators and Arbiters of the Christian Religion? Doth the holy and pure Spirit of God dwell in those vile and impure Creatures, and confer upon them the Gift of infallible Judging? Or shall we say, that other Mens Minds, it is true, are corrupted and debauch'd by Vice and by living in the Practice of all Lewdness; but 'tis not so with the Pontiff of *Rome*? His Judgment is clear, tho' his Life be polluted; he knows how to give others an unerring Conduct to Truth, tho' he is overgrown with all the Errors of a prophane and wicked Conversation.

Methinks the *Romanists* have not gone the right way to work, to prove *Infallibility*. They might as well have said, the Popes are *without Sin*, as without *Error*. It had been their best and readiest Course to have freed their universal Judge from all Faults in his Life, as well as in his Judgment. And this might easily be done: for though so many of the Popes are branded as lewd and flagitious Persons, yet it might be maintain'd, that what is a Sin and Crime in others is not so in him that sits in *St. Peter's* Chair. He is an extraordinary Person, and what holds good of com-

men Mortals, must not be applied to him. The Triple Crown purges him from all Guilt and Stain, and therefore he hath no Sin to debauch his Judgment, and consequently his Infallibility is not prejudiced at all. This may be Part of the *Creed* of a *Roman Catholic*, but Protestants (tho' said to be *Solifidians*) can't believe any such thing, but reckon it as a Bar to the Infallibility of many of the Popes, that have not only been Hereticks, but notoriously wicked, prophane and dissolute in their Lives.

III. The Doctrine of the *Pope's Infallibility* (and indeed his *Supremacy* too, as I said before that they are in some things near a-kin) is ruin'd by this one thing, viz. that there have appear'd *more Popes at a time than one*. There were two Popes at once in the Year 1378, *Clement VII.* was Pope at *Avignon*, and *Urban VI.* sate Pope at *Rome*. Who could judge of *Infallibility* in those Days? In which of the Popes was it seated? Or was the Infallibility capable of being split and divided? Were both *Clement* and *Urban* in the right, when they oppos'd one another? This is an unheard of Infallibility, an Infallibility of Contradictions. But what shall we say to a Triumvirate of Popes? Two Heads of the Church are monstrous, but three much more: and yet this Triple-headed *Cerberus* hath been no strange thing at *Rome*. About the Year 974 there were three Anti-Popes together; *Boniface VII.* *John XV.* and *Benedict VII.* About the Year 1045, *Benedict*, *Sylvester* and *Gregory* were Popes at once. Afterwards, *A. D.* 1159. Pope *Alexander III.* baffled three Pretenders to the Triple Crown (as good Popes as himself) and behold! in a short time three others, viz. *Victor*, *Paschal*, and *Calixtus* came in his Place, i. e. challeng'd the Papal Chair. In the time of the Council of *Constance*, which began *A. D.* 1414, there laid claim to the Popedom *Benedict XIII.* who was elected by the *Spanish Cardinals*; *Gregory XII.* who was advanc'd by the *French* and *John XXIII.* who was befriended by the *Italians*.

These all actually set up for the Popedom, and excommunicated one another; and now tell me which of these Pretenders was *Infallible*; or did the Infallibility reside in them all together? This makes the Doctrine of Infallibility yet the more incredible, yea the more absurd and ridiculous: For if one be as infallible as another, then we must hold that Contradictions are infallible; for 'tis certain that they contradicted one another; and what one pronounc'd to be True, another averr'd to be False, and a third oppos'd both of them.

I might add, that the *Popes* in different Ages have *disagreed*. One hath decreed against what another before establish'd: And how shall we reconcile this with the Impossibility of their Erring? Yea, *Popes* have determin'd against themselves: So *Vigilius* condemn'd the fifth General Council (the second of *Constantinople*) and yet afterwards confirm'd it: And yet must we believe that he was *Infallible*, and that there was no Mistake in his Judgment?

Surely after we have weigh'd these several Particulars, it cannot enter into our Minds that the Bishop of *Rome* is the sole Judge and Supreme Arbitrator on Earth of all Controversies, from whose Opinion there is no Appeal. Surely, we can't be induc'd to believe, that all Laws are shut up in the Breast of this great and mighty Dictator, and that he is free from all Error by special Privilege and Appointment.

This is so incredible a thing, that our very Adversaries sometimes, whether unwarily, or from the Conviction of Truth, disown the Belief of it. The famous *Gerson* in the first Part of his *Discourse about Trial of Doctrines* declares, that *there is more Credit to be given to a plain private Man instructed in Holy Scripture, than to the Pope's definitive Sentence in any Point of Doctrine: for it is plain that the Gospel is more to be believed than the Pope.* * Another great Man of that

* Panormitan. cap. significasti. de Electione.

Church freely professes, that in things concerning Faith the Verdict of one private Person is to be preferr'd before the Decision of the Pope, if he be led with better Warrants of the Old and New Testament than the Pope. We have it from * Bellarmine himself, that the Church for a thousand Years was a Stranger to the Doctrine of the Pope's Infallibility. Another late † Writer of that Church is very fair and ingenuous, telling us, that tho' the Church of Rome was consider'd as First, and its Bishop as First amongst all the Bishops of the World, yet they did not believe him to be Infallible; and tho' they frequently consulted him, and his Advice was of great Consequence, yet they did not receive it blindfold and implicitly, every Bishop imagining himself to have a right to judge in Ecclesiastical Matters. Thus he. I would have it remember'd, that the last Pope but one was examin'd by the Inquisition, because he was thought to be a Favourer of Molinos's Heresy. From which Action we cannot but infer these two Things, which are much to our present Purpose, that the Court of Inquisition is reckon'd to be above the Pope, for else he could not be call'd to Account by it; and likewise that the Pope is Fallible; for that is suppos'd in the Inquisitors suspecting him to be tainted with Heresy. But I will insist no longer on this Point of the Pope's Infallibility; for this is confuted by the Next Opinion held by other Papists: (where by the by observe, that we need not be very solicitous to baffle their Doctrines, for their own Party doth it themselves.)

Secondly, Some hold that Councils are Infallible, and that Infallibility is only seated in them: and so down goes the Pope's Infallibility. This was the Determination of their own Councils, as that of Constance in the Year 1414, and that of Basil, which began A. D. 1431; both which decreed a Council to be above the Pope; and this latter Council was confirm'd by Pope Nicholas V. Infallibility is plac'd in a Gene-

* De Pont. Rom. l. 4. c. 2. † Du Pin's Biblioth. Patrum.

ral Council, say *Gerson*, *Cusanus*, *Abulensis*, and some other great Men. The *Sorbonne* are point blank against the *Jesuites*, and hold a Council above the Pope. And it is the profess'd Opinion of the *Jansenists*, that the Bishop of *Rome* is fallible, and subject to a Council. That Councils thought themselves above Popes is clear from their *Condemning* of them, as in the Instances before alledg'd. Pope *Honorius* was condemned as a Heretick by a Council at *Constantinople*, and *Eugenius* underwent the same Censure by that at *Basil*. But that Councils were Above Popes is yet more evident from their *Deposing* of them. At the Beginning of the fifteenth Century *Benedict XIII.* and *Gregory XII.* were depos'd by the Council of *Pisa*, and Pope *Alexander V.* was chosen by them in their room. The Council of *Constance*, call'd about *A. D.* 1400, (the same which, as was said before, determin'd a Council to be above the Pope) depos'd three contending Popes, *Benedict XIII.* *Gregory XII.* and *John XXIV.* and elected a fourth, namely, *Martin V.* And 'tis no wonder that this Council was confirm'd by this Pope *Martin*. *Eugenius IV.* the last Pope of that Name, was depos'd by the General Council of *Basil*, and *Felix V.* was put in his Place, *A. D.* 1439. Thus according to three Councils, namely, of *Pisa*, *Constance*, and *Basil*, the Infallibility of *Rome* rested in Them.

But yet if we consider things aright, we shall find that the *Infallibility of Councils* is as easily refuted as that of the *Pope's*. For tho' what † *Luther* saith, [It is with a Council as with a Market full of drunken Clowns, nothing but confus'd and disorder'd Noise is heard] may pass for too sharp and satirical, yet it is certain that the Results of these Ecclesiastical Meetings seldom answer Expectation. Let us hear what an Antient Father saith on this Subject, * "If I may write the Truth, and what I really think (saith he) I would avoid all Episcopal Councils: for I never

† Coll. Mens.

* Greg. Naz. Epist. 42. ad Procop.

" saw

“ saw a happy and joyful End of any Council : But
 “ it was so far from remedying an Evil, that it rather
 “ increas’d it.” It is undeniably plain that Councils
 are subject to Error : The second Council of *Ephesus*
 (held to be a General Council) sided with *Eutyches*
 against *Flavianus*. And we know that one Council
 hath contradicted another. One General Council vo-
 ted down, another voted up *Image-worship*. The Acts
 of the second *Nicene* Council, which did this latter,
 being carried into the West, *Charles* the Great, King
 of *Franks*, call’d a Synod of three hundred Bishops at
Frankfort on the *Main*, *A. D.* 794. who decreed con-
 trary to that Council. The General Councils of *Con-*
stance and *Basil* determin’d that a Council is above the
 Pope, and that he may be depos’d by them : but the
 General Council at the *Lateran* under *Julius* II. and
Leo X. determin’d the quite contrary, *i. e.* the Pope
 is above a General Council. Therefore *Cusanus*, a
 Cardinal of the Church of *Rome*, but a sober Person,
 observing this Contrariety of Decrees, acknowledges
 it as a Truth, *founded upon Experience, that an
 Universal Council may err.

And indeed if we consider seriously what *Councils*
 generally have been, and how they have been mana-
 ged, and how many Qualifications there are to make
 a Council lawful and good ; if we consider how few
 of them have been free and disengag’d, and what Num-
 bers in them have been prejudic’d and prepossess’d, and
 how Fraud and Subtilty have crept in among them,
 and perverted the true Design of their Meeting to-
 gether, we shall not be very eager to maintain that
 Councils have reach’d so high as Infallibility. I shall
 conclude this Head with the Sense of our own Church
 about this Matter, in her nineteenth Article, *As the*
Church (saith she) *of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and An-*
tioch have err’d, so also the Church of Rome hath err’d,

* Notandum est experimento rerum Universale Concilium posse
 deficere. *Concord. Catholicis.* l. 2. c. 14.

not only in their Living and Manner of Ceremonies, but also in Matters of Faith. And again, in her twenty first Article, *General Councils, when they be gather'd together, for as much as they be an Assembly of Men, whereof all be not govern'd with the Spirit and Word of God, may err, and sometime have err'd, even in things pertaining to God.*

There is a *third Opinion* among some of the Doctors of the Church of *Rome*, namely, that the Pope and the Council together are Infallible, and that the Gift of Infallibility is bestow'd on both of them jointly. But this hath few Abettors, and they do not seem to believe what they say: for when they come close to the Business of Infallibility, they fix it radically either in the Pope alone, or in the Council alone. And truly any one may see that this Medley is a mere shift, and hath nothing serious and solid in it: For if Infallibility be seated neither in Pope, nor Council, and neither of them be infallible singly, how can we imagine that Infallibility arises from their being join'd together? For two Fallibles will not make one Infallible. And thus we see, the *Romanists* must be forc'd to give up the Cause: for no way, they have yet taken, will lead to Infallibility.

But because I will do them all the Right imaginable, I will listen to the *Objections* they usually make against our Doctrine, and in those they persuade themselves there are couch'd several *Arguments* for Infallibility. And truly I am the more willing to hearken to their Objections, and to return an Answer to them, because the very Objections will serve to confirm us in the Truth we hold; and the Weakness of the Arguments which they produce will be one strong Argument against them.

First, they argue from *Scripture*, and tell us, that the *Jews* had an Infallible Supreme Judge, and that the High-Priest was such, and the Priests and *Levites*, and the *Sanhedrim* or Great Council at *Jerusalem* were such; therefore there ought to be, and is an Infallible Judge

Judge in the Christian Church. To prove that in the *Jewish* Church such a one was constituted, they alledge that Text, *Deut. xvii. 8.* and what follows, *If there arise a Matter too hard for thee in Judgment, &c.* But I answer 1st, This is nothing to the present purpose, because the Words speak not of *Religious* Matters, but Matters of Controversy between Man and Man, relating either to Criminal Cases, or to Civil Rights, *between Blood and Blood, betwixt Plea and Plea, and between Stroke and Stroke, &c.* Therefore this Place can't be made use of to prove the *Jewish* Priests or any other Judges in these Controversies to be *Infallible* as to Matters of *Faith*. 2^{dly}, Here is not a Word that so much as hints at the *Infallibility* of the *Jewish* Priests or Church; but only we are told here, that the People were to submit to the Decision and Determination of the Priests and Judges in those Criminal and Civil Cases. 3^{dly}, That the *Jewish* Priests were not *Infallible*, is evident from *Mat. ii. 8.* where the Priests are reprov'd for *departing out of the Way, and causing many to stumble at the Law*: And in other Places in the Writings of the Prophets, the Errors and Failings of the *Priests* with respect to their instructing the People are severely animadverted upon. Christ calls the Priests and Rulers (of whom the Council consisted) *Blind Guides*, *Matt. xxiii. 16.* And it was this Council that appear'd so warmly against Christ and the Apostles, *Matt. xxvii. 20, 63. Matt. xxvi. 59, 65.* and therefore we may conclude it to be *fallible*, and consequently the Argument of the Papists drawn from what was done in the *Jewish* Church is of no Value. And lastly, this may be said, that tho' we should suppose that the *Jews* had an infallible Interpreter of the Law, yet it follows not that 'tis so in the *Christian* Church: for our Dispensation and theirs differ exceedingly.

I think I shall be excused by all wise Men from insisting on the Proof of the Pope's *Infallibility* from the *Urim* and *Tbummim* of the *Jews*, which a Great

Champion of the *Roman* Cause urges with some Confidence: For, *saith he, *Urim* is Doctrine, and *Thumim* is Verity, and therefore the High-Priest could not Err, but always propounded Truth, when he taught; as if this learned Man did not know very well, that that *Jewish* Oracle in the High-Priest's Breast-Plate was an extraordinary way of Revelation, and besides did not concern itself in mere Matters of Religion and Faith, and therefore on both these Accounts cannot be applied to the Business in Hand.

The Writers of the *Roman* Church labour to form an Argument from those Texts that set forth the Authority of the Church, and the Necessity of obeying it; *If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a Heathen Man, &c.* Matt. xviii. 17. *The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses's Seat; all therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do.* Matt. xxiii. 1, 2. *He that heareth you, heareth me: and he that despiseth you, despiseth me,* Luk. x. 16. Hence it is plain, that the *Jewish* Church, and afterwards the Christian Church was to be attended to, and obey'd in all things, therefore they are *Infallible*. But who sees not the Inconsequence of this? for there is no arguing from the Authority of the Church to its *Infallibility*: For then our Parents and our Governours are *Infallible*, and every Minister or Pastor of the Church is *Infallible*, because he is to be *hear'd*. And so in the *Jewish* Church every Priest, every Scribe and Pharisee was *Infallible*, because the People were to be taught by them their Duty from God's Law. This Argument then proves too much, and this is more than the Papists themselves will grant: which shews the Invalidity of their arguing.

The xxiii^d of *Luke*, v. 32. where our Saviour tells *Peter*, that he had pray'd for him that his Faith fail not, is another Text that the Doctors of the Church of *Rome* produce to evince the Pope's *Infallibility*:

* Bellarm. de Pont. Rom. l. 4. c. 3.

for they would persuade us, that the Faith of all *Peter's* Successors is preserved by that Prayer, therefore the Bishops of *Rome* are Infallible. Such poor Reasoning as this should rather be slighted than taken notice of: but because some may be so weak as to imagine that there is something of Argument in it, I will return this brief Answer to it; namely, that it is not to be doubted that this Prayer of our Saviour refers to *Satan's* sifting of *Peter*, that is, his tempting him to deny Christ, spoken of in the preceding Verse; and the Apostle is here assur'd, that his denying of his Master shall not end in a final Apostacy from the Faith, but that he shall rise again after his Fall. And we know that this Prayer was heard and answer'd.

The *Romanists* apply that to their Church, *Matt.* xxviii. 20. *Lo, I am with you always to the End of the World*, and look upon it as a Promise of Papal Infallibility. But first, this which is said here is meant of the Pastors of the *True Church*: and let them prove theirs to be such, before they claim the Promise. Secondly, God and Christ shall be with the Ministers of his Church for ever: but he doth not say that they shall be Infallible. He shall Infallibly be with them, but he promises not Infallibility to them.

That Text also, *On this Rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it*, is alledg'd: But I have answer'd it before, under the former Point, and therefore there needs no other Reply now. But if something must be added, it shall be this; 1. Let them (as I laid before) prove the Church of *Rome* to be a True one (which it will be impossible for them to do) and then it will be time to make use of this Text. 2. If there were a possibility of proving themselves a true Church, yet this Promise, that *the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against the Church*, belongs to the Church of *England*, or any other True Church as well as that of *Rome*; and therefore they can make no peculiar Claim to this Promise, the

the plain meaning of which is, that the True Church of Christ shall Never be rooted out by the Power or Policy of the Devil (those are the *Gates of Hell*) but shall last to the End of the World.

They alledge, the Commission given to the Apostles, *As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you*, John xx. 21. The Father sent me who am Infallible, so I send you, and endow you with the same Prerogative. But first it must be observ'd, that this is spoken of all the Apostles, and therefore it is not to be restrain'd to *Peter* only and his pretended Successors. Secondly, if the Pope would have any Share in this Text, he must prove that he is *sent by Christ*, which he hath not done, and we do not expect that ever he will. But thirdly, it cannot but be taken notice of, that the Writers of the Church of *Rome* do here (as in their Glosses and other Texts) shew downright Imposture and Fallacy: For after this wild way of Reasoning, they may prove the Bishop of *Rome* to be *Infinite* and *Omnipotent*, and to be *God* himself: for the Father sent his Son who is Infinite and Omnipotent, and is God himself; and therefore if the Pope be included in this Text, it may as well be gather'd that he is Infinite, Omnipotent, and God himself, as that he is Infallible. Fourthly then, the plain and obvious Sense of Christ's Words is this, that as the Father had commission'd and authoriz'd the Son to discharge the Work of a Mediator, so the Apostles and all the Ministers of the Gospel have full Authority and Commission from the Son to execute their Ministerial Office: And they being sent by him shall have Encouragement from him.

Thus I have briefly answer'd the Popish Arguments (if they may be call'd Arguments) from *Scripture*, and we might observe here what the Protestant Writers have often mention'd; namely, that the Papists believe the Church of *Rome* to be Infallible, because they imagine the *Scripture* saith so (tho' I have sufficiently disprov'd this in my Reply to their Interpretation of the

the foregoing Texts) and believe the Scripture saith so, because the *Church of Rome* is Infallible and saith so. This is disputing in a Circle, and therefore by no means to be allow'd of, for such Arguing in the Nature of the thing itself loses its Force and Virtue.

From *Scripture* they pass to other Topicks, which they think furnish them with great *Reasons* for what they hold. They argue from the *Power* of God; he *can* (say they) bestow Infallibility, and therefore we are not to doubt that he hath done it. But this must by no means be accepted of as a good Argument; for we know that there are many things which God is able to do, and yet they are not done by him. But why, say they, should we think that God will deny Infallibility to the Church, when it is so great a Benefit, and therefore in the next Place they argue from God's *Goodness*, and his Designs of doing good to Mankind. But they should rather argue, that this is *not Good* (*i. e.* for us in our present Circumstances) because we find *there is no such thing*.

But they insist farther, that it is a very *desireable* thing, and every one wishes for it. It is true, we might wish for it, because it would save us a great deal of Labour. As says the Lord *Falkland*, if God would leave it to me, which Tenet should be true, I would rather choose that this should be true, than the contrary. So that (as he adds) it is not the Averseness of our Minds from the thing that makes us deny it: But we do it merely because there is no Foundation for the Reality of the thing itself. We might be apt to think that this is the speediest Course that can be taken to establish the Unity of Faith in the Church: But what is this to the Purpose if there be no such thing, if God hath not been pleas'd to grant any such thing?

But it is urged, that it is most *convenient* and *fitting* that there should be an Infallible Judge, and therefore we may conclude that there is one. But this Arguing is as weak and precarious as the other. I will
I apply

apply here the Words of the judicious Mr. *Hooker*, which he uses on another Occasion; [“ * As for those
 “ marvelous Discourses, whereby they adventure to
 “ argue, that God must needs have done the thing
 “ which they imagine was to be done, I must confess
 “ I have often wonder’d at their exceeding Bold-
 “ ness herein. In Matters which concern the Acti-
 “ ons of God, the most dutiful way on our Part is
 “ to search what God hath done, and with Meek-
 “ ness to admire that, rather than to dispute what he
 “ in congruity of Reason ought to do.”] In things
 of that Nature, which I am now speaking of, we are
 not to judge of their *Fitness* and *Expediency*: and we
 are sure that God in many things doth not that which
 to us seems to be *convenient*. But he always doth that
 which he knows to be best and fittest, tho’ we apprehend
 it not to be so. And I pray who should judge of the
Fitness and *Convenience* of things but the All-wise Being?
 In short then, that this or that seems *Convenient* to us,
 is no Argument that it really is so, or that the thing
 really hath any Existence.

These are the Papists Arguments for the Infallibility of
 their Church, and I have offer’d such brief Answers, as
 from which you may certainly gather that their Doctrine is
 false and erroneous, and grounded on fond Surmises only.

Which I will prove by these following Reasons. First,
 there is no need at all of an *Infallible* Judge; for Natural
 Religion is plain and obvious, and all the necessary Points
 of it carry a Self-evidence with them. And as for Reveal’d
 Religion, we need not mistake if we will use the right
 means to Truth. Studying the Scripture, Prayer, and an
 honest Mind will be blest with sufficient Knowledge of
 all things necessary to Salvation. No Interpreter is
 requisite but the Bible itself; this is both Rule and Judge
 too: And all will fail us but this. A great Man of the Church
 of *Rome*

came at last to his * *Tutissimum* in this Point, as well as in another. In vain then is it alledg'd, that it is very requisite there should be an *Infallible* Judge, because else we can't tell what is Truth, there being so many Errors and Mistakes: Whereas, if we will be in good Earnest, and sincerely and industriously apply our selves to the finding out of Truth, we shall not lose our Labour: For the Holy Scripture it self is a safe, certain, and most secure Rule of Faith.

Secondly, There is no *Infallible Judge*, because it is against the Nature of Mankind. Man is created with rational Faculties, to understand and judge for himself; and all Exhortations and Admonitions in Scripture suppose and hint this. It is the Property of Man to examine and enquire, and consequently 'tis against the Frame and Make of human Nature to impose things to be believed. If all things in Religion must be thrust upon us by an *Infallible Dictator*, without any previous Scrutiny and Inquisition, then what Use is there of our Reason and Judgment? What Occasion have we to exercise those Powers? Where there is an *Infallible Judge*, there is no need of Arguing in Religion. The Liberty of using our Understandings in discerning between Truth and Falshood is taken away. This makes it very clear, that the *Roman Church* hath no Ground to impose upon us an *Infallible Decider* of Matters of Faith. Yea, and in the Close of this it might be asked, why God should irresistibly keep Men from *Error* more than from *Vice*? Why is there not an *Infallible Way* of hindring this latter, as well as the *Roman Catholicks* suppose an *Infallible Cure* of the former? I can't see any Reason for it, unless it be this, that they are not so much concern'd for the suppressing of Sin and Vice, as of Error.

Thirdly, The Notion of an *Infallible Judge* destroys the standing Ministry of the Church. The

* *Sacra Scriptura Regula credendi certissima tutissimaque sit.*
Bellarmin. de verbo Dei, l. 1. cap. 2.

Use of this must needs cease, if the other be introduced: The 1 Cor. xii. 28. and Eph. iv. 11, 12. are to no Purpose; for *Pastors* and *Teachers*, and those other Officers which are appointed for the edifying of the Body of Christ, are useless, because one Infallible Judge supercedes all other Teachers.

Fourthly, Tho' there were an Infallible Guide, we might err for all that: For it may be he would not do his Duty. Or we that follow him, being fallible, might not understand his Meaning always, or we might willfully mistake out of Obstinacy and Design. Thus, tho' we should grant the Pope to be Infallible, yet this would not do the Church or Generality of Christians any good; for *his* Infallibility doth not make *them* all Infallible. If they be Fallible Creatures, liable to Errors and Mistakes, they may not be the better for all the Infallibility in another. They may mistake what is infallibly deliver'd. So that every individual Person must be Infallible, and consequently every individual Person must be a Pope, or else the Doctrine of Infallibility signifies nothing.

Fifthly, There can't be a plainer Confutation of the Infallibility which the Church of *Rome* boasts of, than their *Disagreeing* among themselves in Matters of great Consequence relating to the Christian Faith. If they have an unerring Pastor and Judge, why do they not give us some Proofs of it? Why do they make a great Noise about it, but do not convince us of the Truth of it by their Practice? If there be Infallibility in that Church, why do not they publish an Infallible Exposition of all the Books of the Bible? What makes their Commentaries differ? Why do *their* Writers vary as much as any *Protestants* are thought by them to do? Why doth not the Church of *Rome* determine the exact Sense and Meaning of all Places of Scripture, that so there may be no more Disputes for the future, and no more Expositions but one? Seeing *Sixtus Quintus's* Edition was reckon'd the authentick Edition of the *Vulgar Latin*, what is the Reason

Reason that two Years after, *Clement VIII.*'s Edition was voted the only authentick one, and yet vastly differ'd from the former? We see that those who pretend to have an Infallible Guide among them, do not put an End to all their Controversies; which they would certainly do, if they were verily persuaded that Infallibility was their Privilege. It is a Sign therefore, that they would have others to believe that which they are not persuaded of themselves.

Sixthly, It is an undeniable Argument, that there is no such thing as Infallibility among the *Roman Catholics*, because they can't agree where to lodge their Infallibility. They have not determin'd concerning this Great Judge that is to decide all things. And yet *this* must be granted, that they must first be infallibly certain *who* this Infallible Judge is before they can submit to his Decisions. Now we have heard how they dispute, whether *Pope*, or *Councils*, or *both* be the Infallible Guide. Antiently Councils were reputed to be above Popes; but in later Times the Pope hath been uppermost: And it must be so, seeing the Councils of *Lateran* and *Trent* have decreed it. But yet since that Time, and at this very Day, there is not an Agreement among the *Roman Catholics* in this Point. Many of those that hold an Infallibility, know not where it resides; which renders it most probable that there is no such thing.

Seventhly, It is evident that there is no such thing as Infallibility in the Church of *Rome*; for she hath actually err'd and fail'd. Honest *Gerson*, the Chancellor of *Paris*, pronounc'd it openly (in a Sermon *de Circumcisione*) that the Church of *Rome* both might and did actually err, and was deceiv'd; witness its receiving and honouring a Woman for a Pope, and that for a considerable Time. I have shewed before, that both *Popes* and *Councils* have oppos'd one another: The former have contradicted what their Predecessors did; the latter have decreed contrary to former Councils. They have peremptorily determin'd in several Points,

Points, and then have revers'd them. Now, either the *Reversing* was an Error, or the former *Tenent* was one. This shews, that *Rome* hath no Reason to brag of an Infallible Judge; or at least it proves, that an Infallible Judge is not a Remedy against Error and Deception. They that pretend to an unerring Guide are themselves deceived. So that, upon the whole, 'tis reasonable to aver, that Infallibility, or the Benefit of it is clearly against Matter of Fact and plain Experience.

Next I argue from *Primitive Practice*. It is evident that Infallibility is an upstart Doctrine, and hath no real Ground and Foundation; for else we should have heard of it among the ancient and primitive Fathers of the Church; some of them would have made use of the Infallibility of the Bishop of *Rome*; if there had been any such thing. But we find that there was no Attempt of this Nature. St. *Austin* against the *Pelagians*, *Cyril* against *Nestorius*, *Athanasius* against the *Arians*, appeal'd to *Scripture*, and made use of that to decide the Points which were in Controversy between them and their Adversaries, but never consulted the *Pope* about them. Yea, when in some Cases he would be thrusting in his definitive Sentence, it was rejected. Thus in the Contention of the Bishops of the East and West about *Easter*, his Judgment was not receiv'd. For (as *Eusebius* informs us) *Polycarp* would not yield to *Anicetus*, who was then Bishop of *Rome*; nor could *Anicetus* persuade him to lay aside his different Observation of that Time. And when, about thirty Years after, the Dissention was renew'd, and Victor Bishop of *Rome* excommunicated the Eastern Bishops, because they slighted his Determination in that Controversy, they slighted him and his Determination, and writ to him, and reprov'd him bitterly: And afterwards, *A. D.* 258, in the famous Dispute about the *Re-baptizing* of those that were baptiz'd by Hereticks, the Judgment of *Stephen*, then Bishop of *Rome*, was not authentick: For tho' he forbid Rebaptization, yet (as *Eusebius* relates) *Cyprian* the

the Bishop of *Carthage* (who was afterwards a Blessed Martyr of the Church) withstood his Decree, and was not afraid to say that *Stephen* * *asserted the Cause of Hereticks against the Christians, and against the Church of God.* With *Cyprian* took Part *Firmilianus* the Metropolitan of *Cæsarea*, and *Dionysius* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, with most of the *African* Bishops, yea whole Synods of them. It is well known likewise, that the Bishops of the East, about the Middle of the fourth Century, withstood *Julius I.* the Head of the *Roman* Church, in the Cause of *Athanasius*. So plain is it from Ecclesiastical History, that the primitive godly Bishops did not acquiesce in the Determination of the *Roman* Pontiffs, but oppos'd it, and yet were good Catholics; which is a very clear Confutation of the *Infallibility* of those that pretend to be Successors of *St. Peter*.

My next Proof is from *Scripture*. From what we meet with in these sacred Writings it is manifest that there is no *Infallible Judge*. If there be such a one, how comes it to pass that the *Apostles* did not make use of him? When false Teachers and heretical Seducers rose up and troubled the Church, why did they not stick by their *Infallibility*, and, with that, put an End to Disputes, and to all false Doctrines? *St. Paul*, in his Epistle to his *Corinthians*, might have speedily hush'd all by this one Expedient. When one was for *Paul*, another for *Apollos*, another for *Cephas* (*Peter* the Supreme, according to our Adversaries) what is the Reason that the Apostle did not make use of this Supreme Judge of all Controversies, so allay all Quarrels and Divisions? The true Reason is, because there was no such thing as a Supreme and *Infallible* Decider of all Debates. If there was, we must say one of these two things, either the *Apostles* did not know it, or they would not make use of this Privilege. The first cannot be said with any Reason, because the A-

* Cypr. Epist. ad Pamp.

postles were inspir'd Persons, and had the Knowledge of all things useful to the Church communicated to them. The second is not to be allow'd; for that would impeach the Apostles of wilful Negligence, and at the same time argue their Want of Integrity: For then it would appear, that tho' they seem'd to be very desirous to appease Disputes and Quarrels in Religion; yet they refused to make use of the Means in order to it. Thus it is reasonable to argue from the *Practice of the Apostles* recorded in Scripture, that there was and is no such thing as Infallibility. And it might be here further added, that had St. Peter been the Infallible Head of the Church, St. Paul would not have treated him as he doth, 2 Gal. vii. 9, 11. but I have spoken before of that under the *Supremacy*.

Again, if there were such a Privilege as Infallibility, it would have been attested and confirm'd by some *Promise in Scripture*; there would have been some plain Words to assure us that the Church of Christ should be constantly supplied with it. For if we have Promises of lesser things (as those that concern our Bodies and outward Estate) it is not to be doubted that greater things would be expressly mention'd: And it is certain that if Infallibility be a Privilege granted to the Church, it is a very great and considerable one. But we have not any Promise in the Bible that looks that way. We are no where told, that we shall have the Benefit of an uncontrollable Judge, who is able to determine in all Points of Controversy. We don't find that such a one is any where appointed by God. And yet it is not to be denied, that if there were such a One, he would not have been forgot, he would not have been omitted in the Holy Scriptures. Wherefore thence I infer that there is no such thing.

Besides, we have plain Texts against it, as *Mat. xxiii. 8. Be not ye called Rabbi, for one is your Master, even Christ*; he is the only Lord of our Faith, and no other Person whosoever (no, not the Bishop of Rome) can pretend to that Prerogative. That this great and important

portant Truth might be more taken notice of, our Saviour repeats it in other Words of the same Import, *Y. 9. Call no Man your Father upon the Earth: for one is your Father, which is in Heaven, i.e.* Resign not your selves absolutely to any Man's Judgment and Determination as Infallible; for God alone is he to whom we owe an Absolute Faith. This gives a mortal Stab to the Doctrine of Infallibility, and seems, as it were proleptically, to condemn the future Practice of those who would cry up the Decision of their *Holy Father*.

That is another plain Text, *Not for that we have Dominion over your Faith, 2 Cor. i. 24.* As much as to say, tho' we be Apostles, yet we have no Authority to impose what Doctrines we please upon you; we have no Warrant to act as Infallible Judges. And if Christ's Apostles had none of this Power and Authority, is any Man so soft as to give Credit to the *Romanists*, when they say they have one among them that is endow'd with this Power?

I appeal to any unprejudic'd Person, whether *St. Paul's* commending the People of *Berea, Acts xvii. 11.* for *their searching the Scriptures daily, to know whether those things were so,* doth not baffle the Doctrine of an Infallible Judge to be consulted by us. If he had been of the Opinion of the *Roman Doctors*, he would not have told us that the *Bereans* shew'd themselves to be a People of a *more noble* and brave Spirit than others, because they examin'd and enquir'd into the Doctrines which the Apostle deliver'd, to find whether they were true or no; but he would first have reprimanded them for their being rash and pragmatrical in attempting to judge of those things, and then he would have bid them repair to the Infallible Judge and Teacher, and would have commanded them to rely wholly upon him.

Lastly, If there be one Universal and Infallible Guide to whose Determinations we ought to submit, why are we bid to *prove or try all things? 1 Thess. v. 21.* and why are we enjoin'd *not to believe every Spirit,*

but to try the Spirits whether they are of God? 1 John iv. 1. The Apostle writes this even to private Christians, and we see that they have a Liberty to judge in Religion, yea, it is their Duty to do so, or else the Apostle would not have commanded it. Now, the Apostle would not have writ thus, if he had thought of an Infallible Judge; he would have sent these Persons to *him* to have receiv'd his Dictates, and not have put them upon a laborious trying of things themselves. But you see it is otherwise; instead of that Method, he bids them apply themselves to the *Trying* Work. And the Reason is plain, because every Man is bound for himself to judge of his Religion, and consequently to search into the Reasons and Grounds of it. But those of the Church of *Rome* tell us, that the People can't judge in Matters of Religion; and therefore there must be an Infallible Judge to decide all Controversies. It is clear (if Scripture can make any thing clear) that this hath a false Foundation, and therefore there is no building upon it. Thus I hope these Arguments which I have offer'd, have abundantly evinc'd what I undertook, that there can be no such Thing as the *Infallibility* which the Church of *Rome* boasts of, that there is not any Man, or any Company of Men, appointed to be Judge for all other Men, and, in a Word, that all Pretences to any such thing are vain and senseless.

The *Corollaries* from the whole are such as these. First, By all means beware of the Church of *Rome*. She gives out, that she is utterly incapable of Error; she professes that she is not obnoxious to a Possibility of mistaking. Beware, I say, for of all Cheats I look upon the *Infallible One* to be the worst. And this is certain, that their Pretence to *Infallibility* is the Occasion of their *gross Failings*.

Secondly, Let us not *dispute against*, and yet at the same time *imitate* the Papists: That is, let us not imperiously exercise Dominion over Mens Faith, which is too common a thing in Christendom. Infallibility

is that which all Parties generally pretend to, and hence grow censorious, and damn all Dissenters, not remembring St. Paul's Words, *We know in part, and we prophesy in part.*

Thirdly, Let us be establish'd in this Persuasion, which I have prov'd to have Reason, and Primitive Practice, and the Holy Scriptures, and our Church on its Side. And that we may be the *more concern'd* for this Doctrine, we ought to consider these three Things. First, Upon the Pope's *Infallibility* depend all the other Points of Popery. If we can prove that, then we have Reason to embrace all the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*. We have nothing to say against their Worshipping of Images, Praying to Saints, Half-Communion, and all their other Tenents. These all rely on the Infallibility of their Church, and this is justly esteem'd to be the Root of the *Roman* Religion. Wherefore having extirpated this, we have undermin'd the Church of *Rome*; having baffled *Infallibility*, we have taken their main Fort. Thus we see of what high Importance it is to be assur'd of the *Roman* Church's Fallibility. Secondly, We are greatly concern'd to be inform'd aright of this Matter, for *Implicit Faith* and *Blind Obedience* (which are so much priz'd by the Church of *Rome*, but are very destructive of true Religion) follow upon this Doctrine. Whoever is thoroughly persuaded of it, will *believe* any thing, or undertake any thing that the Person who is thought to be *Infallible*, imposes on him: For if he cannot err himself, nor cause others to err, we need not question his Conduct. Our Business is to follow our Guide, and embrace whatever he proposes to us. If he pleases to condemn the Gospel, and to set up a new Religion, we cannot refuse to comply with his new Overtures, for he can determine nothing amiss; all that he saith and enjoins us is true, just, and right. Thirdly, Let it be remember'd, that the Doctrine of the Pope's *Infallibility* introduces all *Vice* as well as all *Error*. There is no Villany whatsoever but is to be

allow'd of, if the Head of the *Roman Church* thinks fit to license it, and we know full well that he hath done so. It is worthily said in the *Canon Law*, that * *tha' the Pope should lead the whole World into Hell, yet they ought to follow him, and no human Creature must presume to question him for the same, nor ask why he did it?* He is Infallible: that's enough to silence all Questions; and 'tis to be suppos'd that this unerring Master who leads People to the infernal Pit, will be so kind as to make it easy and tolerable to them: And who need then be afraid of perpetrating the most flagitious and enormous Actions? It is no wonder then that the Papists adore the Great *Diana of Infallibility*, and contend for it mightily. But we ought to contend as earnestly against it, seeing it is so vile and pernicious a Doctrine.

Fourthly and Lastly, for the right understanding of what hath been said, namely, that the Church of *Rome* falsely and groundlessly lays Claim to Infallibility, this must be own'd as a certain Truth, that *the Church of Christ* is in this Sense *Infallible*, that she cannot wholly fail in the fundamental Doctrines and Articles of the Christian Religion. She may err in Points of Faith of an inferior Nature, but she cannot totally fail as to those that are necessary and of the Foundation. There shall ever be a select People in some Parts of the World, who shall hold the Essentials of Religion. There shall, as long as the World lasts, be a Number of Men professing the true Faith. We may depend on this; for 'tis grounded on these Promises, *On this Rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it*, Matt. xvi. 18. *The Spirit of Truth shall abide with you* (i. e. not only with the Apostles, but their Successors; for it is added) *for ever*, John xiv. 16, 17. *He shall teach you all things*, &c. 26. *The Spirit of Truth shall guide ye into all Truth*, Joh. xvi. 13. *The Anointing, i. e. the Spirit of Illumination teacheth you*

all things, 1 John iii. 27. *By all things*, and *all Truth*, we are to understand all the Fundamental and Necessary Doctrines of the Christian Religion; and the Church of Christ is secur'd by these divine *Promises*, that she shall not wholly err as to these. And the Reason of it is evident, for *Fundamentals* are the *Essentials* of a *Church*, and therefore they cannot be separated from it. If we hold that there shall be a Church to the End of the World, as we are ascertain'd from *Matt. xxviii* last *ſ.* we must necessarily hold that she shall never fail as to her Fundamentals, because these are indispensably necessary to the Being of the Church. If she errs in that which makes and constitutes a *Church*, she is no longer the Church of Christ. Wherefore hence I gather, that the true Church of Christ is and shall ever be *Infalible* in those Matters that are fundamental. The divine Decree, and the Promise establishes this. And the *Persistence of Believers* is grounded on the same Bottom. The Elect shall never totally fall from Grace, they shall be infallibly directed into the Truth, and they shall *Infalibly* be saved.



CHAP. III.

Of TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

IT is the profess'd Belief of the Church of Rome, that the Elements in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper are really turn'd into Christ's Body and Blood. And this they call *Transubstantiation*, because that they hold that there is a *Change of the Substance* of Bread and Wine into the *Substance* of Christ's natural Body and Blood. That this is the Doctrine of their Church is evident

from two of their Councils, namely the *Lateran*, *A. D. 1215*, under Pope *Innocent III.* which attempted to make Transubstantiation a Matter of Faith; and the *Tridentine*, which finish'd and establish'd that which the other attempted: For by this it was positively determin'd, that * *By the Consecration of the Bread and Wine there is made a Conversion of the whole Substance of the Bread into the Body of Christ, and a Conversion of the whole Substance of the Wine into the Blood of Christ.* And again, *After the Consecration of the Bread and Wine, our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and Man, is verily, really, and substantially contain'd under the Species of those sensible things.* And if any one holds the contrary, let him be accursed, saith the Council. Accordingly all the Writers of the *Roman Church* run in this Strain, that notwithstanding the Accidents of Bread and Wine, as the Colour, Shape, Taste, &c. remain in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper after Consecration; yet the Bread and Wine themselves are destroy'd, and there is no such thing left. By vertue of the Pronunciation of these five Words, *Hoc enim est corpus meum*, these Elements are turn'd into the very Body and Blood of Christ. This is the Opinion held by the Church of *Rome*, and they impose it as a necessary Matter of Belief on all that are of their Communion.

We assert the contrary, namely, that there is no such Transubstantiation; and we prove it from *Scripture*, from *Reason*, and from the *Testimony* of the *Antient Fathers* of the Christian Church: These are good Topicks, and such as no unprejudic'd Person will reject; and I hope I shall make it clear from all these, that the Doctrine of Transubstantiation is a palpable Falsity and Deceit.

First, I argue against it from *Scripture*. The Angels, at our Saviour's Ascension, told the Spectators, that *this same Jesus who was taken up from them into Hea-*

ven, should so come in like manner as they saw him go into Heaven, Acts i. 11. This is meant of Christ's glorious and visible Coming at the End of the World, and all Interpreters and Commentators agree in this, yea even those of the Church of Rome. If then Christ's Return, and the Time of it be fixed, that is, he is to reside in Heaven till the Consummation of all things, we cannot reasonably imagine that he is bodily present in the Sacrament: For if his Body be here, then he is return'd already, and then it follows, that his Return is before the set Time, and consequently that the angelick Spirits gave not a true Account of this Matter, but deceived those they spoke to. They tell us, that *Jesus shall come*, the Church of Rome tells us, that *he is come*. The Scripture assures us, that Christ is in *Heaven* even as to his Humanity; but the Papists affirm that he is on *Earth* in a Thousand Hosts. It is no uneasy thing to determine which of these we ought to give Credit to.

The Apostle Peter acquainted his Auditors whom he had converted to the Christian Faith, that God shall send *Jesus Christ* at the End of all things, Acts iii. 20. and adds, that *the Heavens must receive him until the times of Restitution of all things*, v. 21. that is, until that solemn Period of Time, when all things shall be restor'd to their primitive State. But the Doctrine of the Real and Bodily Presence of Christ in the Sacrament contradicts this, and saith that God *hath already sent Jesus Christ*, and that the Heavens *must not receive and retain him* until the Times of the general and last Restitution of all things: for he is come from Heaven already, and is corporally present in the Eucharist. Thus this is against the Truth of Christ's *Glorification*: they deny, they renounce that Article, that *Christ sits at the right Hand of God*; yea, they say that his glorified Body is brought down to be crucified again, forso it is in the Sacrament according to them. But there is no Ground to give Assent to this; for we have it confirm'd by the Testimony of an *Angel*,
and

and of an Apostle, that Christ is still in Heaven, and is to abide there till his last Coming. Wherefore when the Papists pretend to call down Christ from Heaven at their Pleasure, and cry *Here is Christ*, and *There is Christ*, in this, or that, or a Thousand Masses, *believe them not.*

I argue from 1 Cor. xi. 24. *This do in remembrance of me.* Which Words are repeated in v. 25. where they refer to the giving of the Cup, as those before relate to the distributing the Bread. Whence it is plain, that Christ's Body and Blood are not present in that Sacrament, and that the Bread and Wine are not chang'd into these: for we *remember* things or Persons that are *absent*; we are not said to *remember* those that are *present*. The Sacrament then being a *Memorial* of Christ, the Eucharist being a *Commemoration* of Christ's Body crucified for us, it follows that his Body is not present. It is suppos'd in the Lord's Supper, which was instituted *in remembrance* of our Saviour, that he is Absent, and therefore is to be call'd to mind in this Ordinance. If Christ were present, we should not celebrate the Sacrament.

This Truth may be solidly gather'd from another End of the Sacrament, mention'd by the same Apostle in 1 Cor. xi. 26. *As often as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye do shew the Lord's Death till he come*; that is, till he come at the last Day to judge the World, as is agreed to by all Interpreters on this Place: and consequently Christ cannot be present in the Sacrament, because he is not yet come. You see this is clearly deduced from the Apostle's Words, *Ye shew Christ's Death*, saith he, in the celebrating of the Lord's Supper, you solemnly declare your Belief of Christ's Passion and Death, in order to the Pardon of your Sins, the Salvation of your Souls, and all worthy Communicants do the same in all Ages of the World, even till the End of all things, when Christ will personally and bodily descend from Heaven, and visit this World: But before that time he will not
come,

come, and therefore 'tis Folly and Vanity to think that he as to his Body is present in the Sacrament, and that the Bread and Wine vanish to make way for him. Thus these Words of the Apostle confute Transubstantiation.

So do those that immediately follow, on another Account: for we may observe that St. Paul, no less than three times, in three Verses together, and after the Consecration was over, calls that which is eaten in the Sacrament, *Bread*, and that which is drunk, the *Cup*. The Words are these: *As often as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup* (after the Benediction) *ye do shew, &c. Wherefore whosoever shall eat this Bread, and drink this Cup of the Lord* (thus consecrated) *unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord. But let a Man examine himself, and so let him eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup*, set apart in the Sacrament, 1 Cor. xi. 26, 27, 28 Verses. Than which nothing can more plainly destroy the *Popish* Notion, viz. that after the Priest hath consecrated the Bread and Wine, they are immediately transform'd into the real Body and Blood of Christ: for here we see that the inspired Apostle, who designedly took upon him in this Chapter to explain the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and to rectify the Mistakes about it, acquaints us, that the Elements used in that sacred Institution do retain their own former Nature and Quality, they are still *Bread* and *Wine* (for that is the Import of the *Cup*). With what Face then can the *Romanists* say, that they are become the true and real Body and Blood of Christ? With what Face, I say, can they do it, when they read these three Verses of St. Paul, and own them to be Canonical Scripture? If the Apostle asserts these Elements used in the Sacrament to be *Bread* and *Wine*, even after the Benediction, then they ought to be asham'd of their flatly denying them to be such.

There are other Passages of Scripture, which are made use of by Protestant Writers to weaken this Doctrine:

Doctrine: But I question whether they have sufficient Strength to do it. A * Great Man thinks that the Law given the *Jews* of not eating the *Flesh with the Blood*, and so the Apostles Decree afterwards forbidding the eating of Blood, make against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, or the eating of the very Flesh and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament; unless you'll say they might eat Man's Blood, tho' not that of Beasts. I rather chuse to make use of those Texts of Scripture which are apparently pertinent and home, and such I conceive are those that I have before produced.

To Scripture I will add *Reason*, and shew that Transubstantiation is irrational and absurd, and therefore not to be embrac'd by those who acknowledge Christianity to be a reasonable Service. Here I have many things to say, and first I offer this, that it is unreasonable to admit of *Transubstantiation*, because it destroys the very Notion of a *Sacrament*, which is to represent something that is not seen or present. For all agree, that 'tis of the Nature of a Sacrament to have an outward Sign, and an inward Grace signified by that Sign. Now *Transubstantiation* is against this, for here is no outward Sign (not to speak here of the invisible Grace): for Bread and Wine, which we think we see and feel and taste, are, according to the Papists, vanish'd and are not, and therefore they can't be Signs; and supposing that the Body and Blood of Christ come in their room, it is not possible these should be the outward Sign: for nothing can represent it self. Wherefore for Christ to be bodily in the Sacrament, is against the Nature of the Sacrament itself, which is to signify and represent Christ's Body. But if the Bread and Wine be the very Body and Blood of Christ, then there is no Sign of the thing signified; unless you can make the Sign and the Thing signified to be the same. Thus 'tis plain that Transubstan-

tiation takes away that which constitutes a Sacrament.

The Unreasonableness of this Doctrine is seen in this, that it is against the Evidence of *Sense*, which ought to be relied upon in Matters which *Sense* is capable of Judging of. Our Faculties are not so made that they may deceive us in the proper Objects of them, for then there would be no Evidence of Truth in any thing. The Testimony of *Sense* must be upheld, or else all our Religion is destroy'd: for both *Jews* and *Christians*, who receiv'd their Religion by Revelation from God, cannot be certain of it, if their *Senses* be false; because that Revelation, which they receiv'd, was by the Ministry of the bodily *Senses*, convey'd to them, whether it was by Angels, or Visions, or Voices, or Dreams, &c. We may truly aver, that no Revelation is from God that is repugnant to *Sense* rightly circumstantiated. If our *Senses* be mistaken when they act in due Circumstances, we can't be sure that they are at any time true; which destroys the Certainty of all Revelations and Discoveries. More especially this throws down the whole Fabrick of the *Christian* Religion: for what greater Proof and Assurance have we of Christ's Actions and Miracles, and all he said and did, than the Testimony of those who saw and heard those things? This is made one Ground of the Certainty of the *Christian* Religion, *That which we have seen and heard and handled*, 1 John i. 1. And we know that Christ himself appeal'd to *Thomas's Sense* to confute his Infidelity; and he prov'd his Resurrection to his other Apostles by it. We read that the *Fathers* appeal to the Testimony of the *Senses* frequently against the *Marcionites*, to prove the Truth of Christ's Body. And all rational Persons look upon sensible Apprehension as good Proof, yea, and reckon it as one firm Basis of our Religion. Which shews, that the *Roman* Church acts very irrationally when she bids those of her Communion distrust their *Senses and Reasons*, and disbe-

disbelieve their Eyes, their Feeling, their Taste, their Smell, as in the Sacrament. Tho' all these Senses are more or less exercis'd about the Bread and Wine, and give their Verdict, that they are really and truly *Bread* and *Wine*, yet a *Roman* Catholick must not give credit to this, but, upon Peril of Damnation, believe them to be the Real and *Natural Body* and *Blood* of Christ. This is a great and wonderful Infatuation, and is a farther Proof that Popery professedly deprives its Profelytes of Judgment and Understanding. For tho' 'tis said, *Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed*, yet sottish is he who sees, and yet believes the contrary.

Again, they shew themselves very unreasonable in asserting the same Body to be in *many Places at once*. They affirm, that Christ's Body is present in every individual Host, and is in a thousand Places at once, and yet is but one Body. Which is absolutely inconsistent with the Nature of a Body, which cannot be divided and separated from itself, and yet be whole and entire. If we grant the contrary, we do as good as say a Body is not a Body; or a Body which necessarily contains Parts in it, is without Parts. If a Body can be in more Places than one at a time, the Angel's Words had been insignificant, *He is not here; for he is risen*, Matt. xxviii. 6. Christ's Body might have been risen, and be there, (*i. e.* in the Sepulchre) too, if Christ's Body might be in two Places. But this is utterly impossible, and so much is implied in *those Words*; and so much is contain'd in the true Notion of a *Body*. Wherefore by the Doctrine which the Church of *Rome* maintains, the Human and Bodily Nature of Christ is destroy'd, and consequently our Faith and Religion.

There are other Absurdities which attend this Doctrine, and which make it repugnant to Reason: As that the Bread and Wine are annihilated, and yet the Accidents remain, but have no Subject to uphold them; that the same thing at the same time hath its
just

just Dimensions, and hath them not ; that a Body comes down from Heaven, and yet stays there ; that the same Body is really present in Heaven, and really absent and distant from it ; that a Body is neither visible, nor tangible ; that the same Body rests and moves at the same time ; that when Christ said, *This is my Body*, that which he had then in his Hand was his whole real Body, and yet his Hand was Part of that Body ; that Christ communicating with his Apostles, did eat his own Body ; that he put his own Body into his Mouth, and down his Stomach, and all his Body was contain'd in his Mouth and in his Stomach ; that at the same time that his Body was in his own Mouth and Stomach, it was also in the Mouths and Stomachs of his Disciples, and that it was whole and untouch'd at the same time. These are the natural and direct Consequences of the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, and they are sufficiently absurd.

I know 'tis argued by some against the Corporal Presence, that it is absurd that Christ's real Body should be capable of being eaten by Mice, or devour'd by Dogs, and suffer the like Indignities, as it must needs do, if it is in the Form of *Bread*. But I do not look upon this as a good Objection : for Christ's Body for our Sakes was whipt, buffeted, spit upon ; his Blood was poured on the Ground, and troden under Feet by his Enemies, which is worse than if a Dog had lick'd it up. Besides, our Saviour permitted himself to be carried corporally by the Devil up to the Pinnacle of the Temple. So that upon these Considerations I cannot persuade my self to reckon what was last alledg'd among the *Absurdities* that attend the Doctrine we have been treating of. But the other things before-mention'd may justly be stil'd such, and are really gross Contradictions in themselves ; so that they are able to startle the Faith even of a *Solifidian*, as they call us. This is the Truth of the present Case ; if we will embrace the Popish Doctrine of Transubstantiation,

stantiation, we must suffer ourselves to be overwhelm'd with horrid Inconveniencies and Inconsistencies; with a Heap of intolerable Incongruities: We must tamely give our Assent to strange and incredible, to extravagant and unreasonable Demands, we must contentedly swallow down irreconcilable and inconceivable Propositions, wild and ridiculous Conclusions, and, in a word, monstrous Contradictions.

From the *Testimony* of the *Antient Fathers* I argue in the next Place. Not but that the *Papists* attempt to prove their Doctrine by Quotations out of the Writings of the *Antients*, which, when examin'd, are found to come short of any Proof. Nor do I deny that some of the *Fathers* countenance Transubstantiation: for it is plain that they were corrupted in this as well as in some other material Points. If we consult the second Council of *Nice*, which was about the Year of our Lord 780, we shall find that the Corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament was then held by those that defended the Worship of Images. They came to this, that the Sacrament was not the *Image* or *Representation* of Christ's Body, but the real Natural Body of Christ, whereas the *Iconomachi* held that the Bread was the *Image* of Christ's Body. As some of the *Fathers* do too apparently favour the former Opinion, so some others speak ambiguously, and we may take what they say either way, either for or against Transubstantiation.

But this must be said with undeniable Verity, that the most eminent of the *Greek* and *Latin Fathers* were on the Negative Part; they did not believe the Bread and Wine to be Christ's Real and Natural Body and Blood. We read, that when they undertook to confute the Heresy of the *Eutychians*, who held that the Humanity of Christ was so entirely united to the Divinity, that it was turn'd into it, and became the same with it, they made use of an Argument taken from the *Sacrament*; and asserted, that as the Bread and Wine are not converted into the Body and Blood of Christ,

Christ, and thereby cease to be Bread and Wine, so the Human Nature of Christ is not chang'd into the Divine Nature, and thereby ceases to be the Human Nature. See the learned Bishop *Pearson* in his *Exposition* on the third Article of the *Creed*, where he produces *Gelasius*, *Theodoret* and other Fathers, who argue from the *Eucharist* to the Nature of the *Union of Christ's Divinity and Humanity*; for as it was then believ'd and own'd, that the Bread and Wine remain'd still the same after Consecration, so the Human Nature of Christ remain'd still the same, tho' united to the Divinity: The Words of those Writers are worth our consulting, as they are set down at large by that excellent Prelate. They are a pregnant and illustrious Confutation of the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* taken from the *Sacramental Union* between the *Bread and Wine*, and the *Body and Blood of Christ*; for the Orthodox Fathers took occasion thence to shew, that the *Human Nature* of Christ is no more really converted into the *Divinity*, and so ceaseth to be the Human Nature, than the *Substance of the Bread and Wine* in the Lord's Supper is really converted into the *Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ*, and thereby ceases to be both Bread and Wine. This evidently makes it appear, what was the Sense of the *Antient Fathers* in this Matter.

And to give farther Satisfaction about it, I will here produce the particular and express Words of the Fathers of the greatest Note and Eminency. That of *Tertullian* is clear, **Christ*, saith he, *taking the Bread and distributing it to his Disciples, made it his Body, saying, this is my Body, i. e. this is the Figure of my Body: Now, it would not have been a Figure or Representation of Christ's Body, if Christ's Body had not been*

* *Acceptum panem & distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei: figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. Adv. Marcion. l. 4. c. 40.*

a True and Real Body. The Heretic *Marcion* denied that our Saviour had a True Body : wherefore *Tertullian* here argues against him from the Nature of the Lord's Supper, and tells him, that it is evident from this that Christ's Body was not Imaginary and Phantastical, but a Real and Substantial one : for else the Bread in the Lord's Supper could not signify, represent, and figure (as it doth) the Body of Christ : for it is ridiculous to hold, that there is a Figure or Representation of that which has no Reality. This was the strong Arguing of this learned Father, and it is an irrefragable Argument against *Transubstantiation* : Besides that it shews us (for which End I now alledge it) what was the Persuasion of the *Antients* about it.

This may be farther learnt from *Cyrril of Jerusalem*, who is quoted by the *Romanists* for *Transubstantiation*, and truly he seems to assert it sometimes, but Truth will force its Way, and accordingly we hear him thus speaking; * *When ye take them* (i.e. the Elements) *ye are not commanded to take the Bread and Wine, but to take the Body and Blood of Christ, which they represent.* Observe it ; he owns that the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament represent the Body and Blood of Christ, and consequently they are not turn'd into them. This I look upon as a very considerable Testimony, especially because it comes from one who is suspected to have favour'd the *Roman Tenet*.

Next I will mention *St. Ambrose*, the godly Bishop of *Milan*, who hath excellently decided this Controversy, † *The Bread and Wine, saith he, remain still the same that they were before, and yet are chang'd into another thing.* That is, they are chang'd from common Elements to those that are sacred and divine, but notwithstanding this they are Bread and Wine still: here

* Catechet.

† Sunt quæ erant, & in aliud mutantur. *De Sacram. l. 4. c. 4.*

is no *Transubstantiating* of them. And in *another Place he acknowledges, that the Sacrament is the *Type* or *Figure* of Christ's Body and Blood.

Another celebrated Father of the Christian Church, whose Judgment is highly priz'd, expressly saith, that † *The Bread of the Eucharist is call'd Bread before it be sanctified: but the Divine Grace having sanctified it by the Ministry of the Priest, it bears no more the Name of Bread, but is thought worthy to be call'd the Body of our Lord, altho' the Nature of Bread remains.* This is a very plain Attestation to the Truth which we are defending. And such is that other of the same Writer. § *In the sacred Vessels (i.e. the Elements of Bread and Wine) is not the True Body of Christ, but the Mystery or Sacrament of his Body is contain'd there.* What can we have more express?

The great and learned Bishop of Hippo is of our Side: || After a certain Mode of speaking (saith he) the Sacrament of Christ's Body is his Body, *i. e.* as much as to say, it is the Symbol and Sign of his Body, and it is no other. That this was his Sense and Judgment is manifest from what he saith in his Book against *Adimantus*, where in Answer to what that Person had alledg'd, he tells him that *the Blood in the Old Testament was call'd the Life or Soul, not that it was truly the Soul, or Life, but the Sign of it;* and to illustrate this he instances in those Words of Christ, *This is my Body,* and saith, * *Our Lord did not doubt to say, This is my Body, when he was giving the Sign of his Body.* What can be plainer? And in another Place speaking of the Sacrament, he saith, † *Christ*

* De Sacram. l. 4. c. 5.

† Chrysost. Epist. ad Cæsarium.

§ In opere imperfecto. Homil. 11.

|| Secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi, corpus Christi est. Augustin. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac.

* Non dubitavit Dominus dicere, hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui. Aug. con. Adim. cap. 12.

† Comment. in Psalm.

commended and gave to his Disciples the Figure of his Body and Blood.

Theodoret, another famous Light of the Primitive Church, delivers his Mind thus, *Jesus Christ bath honour'd the visible Symbols with the Name of his Body and Blood, *not changing their Nature, but adding Grace to Nature.* He allows of no Change of the Nature of the Bread and Wine, no *Transubstantiation*: but he grants that a Benediction or Consecration is super-added to the common Elements, and that makes them Sacramentally the Body and Blood of Christ, and no otherwise.

Another of the Antients, even a Bishop of *Rome*, in the latter End of the fifth Century, presents us with his Opinion in these ensuing Words, *† Assuredly the Sacrament, which we receive of the Body and Blood of Christ, is a Divine Thing, and therefore by it we are made Partakers of the Divine Nature, and yet the Substance or Nature of Bread and Wine doth not cease to be: And indeed the Image and Similitude of the Body and Blood of Christ are celebrated in those Mysteries.* Here we see it expressly avouch'd, that there is no Change of the Substance or Nature of the Bread and Wine, but that these are only an Image or Representation of the true Body and Blood of Christ. And the Reader may find more to the same Purpose in this antient Writer.

|| Other Fathers might be produced, who call the Bread and Wine *the Symbols, the Types, the Images* of Christ's Flesh and his Blood: which incontestably

* Οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προσειδικάς.
Dialog. I.

† Certè sacramenta, quæ sumimus corporis & sanguinis Christi, divina res est, propter quod & per eadem divinæ efficimur consortes naturæ, & tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis & vini: & certè imago & similitudo corporis & sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. *Gelasius de duabus nat. Christi.*

|| Ephraim. Syr. lib. de Nat. Dei. Hieronym. adv. Jovin. l. 2. Cyril. Hierosol. Mystag. 4. Nazianz. Orat. 42.

proves, that they did not think the Bread and Wine to be Christ's Body and Blood : for they can't be the Body and Blood of Christ, and the Symbols of them too.

If it be said, that some of the antient Writers of the Christian Church use such * Words and Expressions, as do plainly signify the *Change* and *Transformation* of the Elements in the Eucharist, and therefore it may be well gather'd thence that they are converted into the Body and Blood of Christ; I deny the Consequence : For cannot the Elements be said to be *chang'd*, unless they become the Natural Body and Blood of Christ? And this is the present Case. The Fathers rightly said, that there is a *Conversion*, a *Transmutation*, a *Trans-elementation* (for these were the Words used by some of them) in the Bread and Wine; but no one can rationally collect hence, that they are *Really* and *Substantially* chang'd. The Alteration spoken of is not as to another *Substance*, but another *Relation*; that is, the Elements which were *Common* before, are now *Holy*, they being consecrated to another Use. Thus the Fathers are to be understood, and we can't well understand them otherwise, if we consider and weigh the Matter aright, and observe *how* they use the same Language at *other times*. We cannot but take notice, that the Word μετασχηματίζεσθαι is applied by them to the *Baptismal Water*; not that the Water, after the Invocation or Blessing, is *transubstantiated*, or is turn'd into another Substance, but that it is *sacramentally chang'd*, that is, it is alter'd as to its *Quality*, *Signification*, and *Use* : for before it was but common Water, but now it is set apart and sanctified to a holy Purpose.

Is there not the same Reason why we should understand the same Words and Expressions after this manner, when they are applied by the Antients to the

* Μεταποιεσθαι & μετασχηματίζεσθαι, Greg. Nyssen. Μεταποιεσθαι, Damascen. Μετασχηματίζεσθαι & μετασχηματίζεσθαι, Theophyl.

other Sacrament? Yes certainly, and consequently we can't gather, that they by using those Terms meant a *Substantial Change* of the Elements, but only an *Accidental* and *Relative* one after the Benediction. Thus we may interpret those Words of *Cyrril*, (which the *Roman* Doctors are wont to alledge in Favour of their Cause) **The Bread and Wine*, saith he, *which we see (tho' to the Taste they seem to be Bread and Wine) are not for all that Bread and Wine, but the Body and Blood of Christ*; that is, they are not *Common Bread and Wine*, for their *Quality* and *Relation* are chang'd, and they now *represent* the *Body and Blood* of our Saviour, and on that Account assume that Denomination. And so indeed that Father explains himself; for he had said before, 'we must not judge them to be *mere Bread and Wine*, which is the same with *common Bread and Wine*. And almost all the Places in the Writings of the Fathers, which seem to speak of a *Corporal Presence* and a *Substantial Change*, are to be understood of a *Sacramental Presence* and an *Accidental* and *Relative Change*.

Lastly, we dare appeal to some of the *Popish Writers* themselves, who, tho' they stickle for Transubstantiation, yet speak very meanly of it, and look upon it as a novel Doctrine. The Fathers and Antient Doctors of the Church own'd it not, say † *Gregory de Valentia*, ‖ *Cardinal Cusanus*, § *Suarez*, * *Durandus*, ‡ *Scotus*. And the last of these confesses, that before the *Lateran Council* (which was *A.D. 1215*.) Transubstantiation was not made an Article of Faith in the Church. Those other Great Men, *Cajetan*, *De Aliaco*, *Fisher*, acknowledge that it is a Doctrine that can't be prov'd out of the *Scriptures*.

And yet so it is, the great Patrons of this Cause among the Pontificians lay their greatest Stress on these

* Catech. Mystagog. 4.

† De Transubst. l. 2. c. 7.

‖ Exercit. l. 6.

§ Tom. 1. in Euchar. disp. 7.

* In 4 Sent. dist. 10. qu. 1. n. 13.

‡ In 4 Sent. c. 2. qu. 3.

sacred Writings, and endeavour to prove from several Passages in them, that the Elements in the Lord's Supper are chang'd into the very Body and Blood of our Saviour. It is necessary therefore, toward the compleating of this Discourse concerning Transubstantiation, that I particularly and distinctly consider those Texts which are brought to establish this Doctrine.

The first and chief Text is *Matt. xxvi. 26. This is my Body*; and *v. 28. This is my Blood*. Where, as the Papists tell us, Christ speaks plainly and intelligibly, and lets us know, that the Bread is his Body, and the Wine is his Blood. He is not delivering a Parable here, and therefore his Words are not to be look'd upon as obscure and dark. This is Part of his last Will and Testament, and without doubt he delivers his Mind in proper and perspicuous Terms. He distinctly and plainly expresses the thing as it really is; he holds forth the Bread to his Disciples, and saith, *Take, eat; this is my Body*: And he reaches the Wine to them, and saith, *Drink ye all of this; for this is my Blood*. Wherefore we ought to believe what he saith, and accordingly we ought to be persuaded that the Bread in the Sacrament is turn'd into the real Body, and the Wine into the real Blood of Christ.

To which plausible Gloss I answer; we do not deny that Christ speaks clearly and plainly, when he saith the Bread is his Body, and the Wine is his Blood; and yet it doth not follow thence, that the Bread is turn'd into Christ's Body, or the Wine into his Blood. For when our Saviour saith, *This Bread is his Body*, and *this Wine is his Blood*, his true Meaning is, that this Bread and this Wine *represent* or *signifie* to us his Body and Blood. This I prove from diverse plain Instances both in the Old and New Testament. *The three Branches are three Days*, *Gen. xl. 12.* that is, they signify three Days. *The seven good Kine are seven Years*, *Gen. xli. 26.* that is, they signify so many Years. *It is the Lord's Passover*, *Gen. xii. 11.*

that is, it represents and calls to your Mind the Lord's Passover. *The Field is the World*; that is, it signifies in the foregoing Parable the World: *The good Seed are the Kingdom of the Children*; that is, they represent them; *but the Tares are the Children of the wicked one*; that is, they are a Representation of them, *Matt. xiii. 38. That Rock was Christ*, *1 Cor. x. 4.* that is, it represented Christ. *The seven Heads are seven Mountains*, *Rev. xvii. 9.* that is, seven Mountains are signified by them. And other Places I have quoted on *the like Occasion, which now I omit. From all which it is evident, that *is* is as much as *signifies* or *represents*: And so we are hereby let into the genuine Meaning of Christ's Words, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*; that is, they are appointed by him to be visible Symbols, Signs and Representations of his Real Body and Blood, and consequently of his Passion and Death, of his Suffering on the Cross for us. This is the plain and obvious Explication of these Words of the Institution of the Sacrament; and we may rest upon it, because it is adjusted to the *frequent Stile and Language* of Scriptures, yea when it speaks concerning the Sacrament. Here is no Obscurity, here is nothing unintelligible, as the *Romanists* pretend: but we see, that our Saviour speaks according to the ordinary way and usual Stile of the sacred Writings, and which therefore may well become his last Will and Testament.

Another Text is alledg'd, *John vi. 53. Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you. And v. 54. Whosoever eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, hath eternal Life. And again v. 56. He that eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.* Whence the Patrons of Transubstantiation conclude, that the real Flesh and Blood of Christ are eaten and drank in the Sacrament. And to back this Conclusion, they tell

* In the *Discourse of the Lord's Supper*, in *Theolog. Reformata*.

us, that the Antient *Fathers* interpreted these Texts concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and accordingly they admitted Infants and Children to this Sacrament, because they thought these Words declar'd the Necessity of it, in order to eternal Life. Thus we read, that in St. * *Cyprian's* Time the *Font* and the *Altar* were made use of together. And in the fourth and fifth Centuries Infants receiv'd the Eucharist as soon as they were baptiz'd. To which I answer,

First, Though St. *Augustin* expressly and frequently declares for the Necessity of the Lord's Supper to baptized Infants, yet it is evident to those who *diligently* and *attentively* read this Father's Writings, that he means not the *Sacramental Communion*, but only the *Effect* and *Fruit* of it, that is, the Incorporation of Persons into the Mystical Body of Christ, and making them his true and living Members. And it is likely some other Fathers meant no more by the *Communion of Children*.

Secondly, As to the other Fathers, who grounded the Communion of Children, as necessary to Salvation, upon these Texts before-mention'd, it is certain that they mistook our Saviour's Words; as appears from this, that the Fathers and Bishops of the Church that came *after them* laid aside the Practice of communicating of Infants, and ever since it hath wholly ceased in the Christian Church, yea even in the Church of *Rome*. Which plainly shews, that this Usage was grounded on their Mis-interpreting of these Texts in St. *John's* Gospel, and that our Saviour's Words are not to be understood, concerning the eating Christ's Body and Blood in the Lord's Supper; for if they were, that Practice would have continued in the Church to this Day; for our Saviour's Words are of as much Force now, as they were at any time before.

* Cypr. Tract. de lapsis, ad Quirin. lib. 3.

that is, it represents and calls to your Mind the Lord's Passover. *The Field is the World*; that is, it signifies in the foregoing Parable the World: *The good Seed are the Kingdom of the Children*; that is, they represent them; *but the Tares are the Children of the wicked one*; that is, they are a Representation of them, *Matt. xiii. 38. That Rock was Christ*, *1 Cor. x. 4.* that is, it represented Christ. *The seven Heads are seven Mountains*, *Rev. xvii. 9.* that is, seven Mountains are signified by them. And other Places I have quoted on *the like Occasion, which now I omit. From all which it is evident, that *is* is as much as *signifies* or *represents*: And so we are hereby let into the genuine Meaning of Christ's Words, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*; that is, they are appointed by him to be visible Symbols, Signs and Representations of his Real Body and Blood, and consequently of his Passion and Death, of his Suffering on the Cross for us. This is the plain and obvious Explication of these Words of the Institution of the Sacrament; and we may rest upon it, because it is adjusted to the *frequent Stile and Language* of Scriptures, yea when it speaks concerning the Sacrament. Here is no Obscurity, here is nothing unintelligible, as the *Romanists* pretend: but we see, that our Saviour speaks according to the ordinary way and usual Stile of the sacred Writings, and which therefore may well become his last Will and Testament.

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Thirdly, It is not to be doubted, that our Saviour speaks not of the Sacrament, but of a *Myssical* and *Spiritual Receiving of him*, and *holding Communion with him*, which is here call'd *eating his Flesh*, and *drinking his Blood*, to signifie the intimate Converse between Christ and the Faithful. If we look back to the foregoing Verses, where 'tis said, *No Man cometh to me, except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him: Every Man that hath heard and learn'd of the Father, cometh unto me: He that believeth on me hath everlasting Life: I am the Bread of Life, the living Bread which came down from Heaven: If any Man eat of this Bread, he shall live for ever; and the Bread that I will give him is my Flesh, which I will give for the Life of the World: And if we join this with what follows, Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, &c.* we cannot but gather this to be the true Sense of the Words, that it is necessary in order to eternal Life and Salvation, that we be mov'd and drawn by an Almighty Power to believe in Jesus Christ, that we be powerfully wrought upon to accept of him for our Christ and our Jesus; that we spiritually feed on this Bread of Life, the true Nourishment of our Souls, and by Faith and Obedience grow up unto a perfect Man, unto the Measure of the Stature of the Fulness of Christ. This is the *Eating of Christ's Flesh*, and the *Drinking of his Blood*, which is here spoken of. And we see that it is an Eating and Drinking, not with the Mouth, but with the Heart: It is not an Outward, but an Inward Repast. It is no other than Believing in him, and sincerely taking him for our Lord and our Saviour. Thus All Believers spiritually feed on Christ's Body and Blood: For *his Flesh is Meat indeed, and his Blood is Drink indeed, John vi. 55.* and the Eating and Drinking of these is absolutely necessary to Salvation. Which is the true Meaning of our Saviour's Words before-cited, *Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you.*

Thus

Thus this Text is to be understood as that other in *John iii. 5. Except a Man be born of Water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* Which is interpreted by *John vii. 38, 39. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his Belly shall flow Rivers of living Water. This spake he of the Spirit, which they, that believe on him, should receive.* By the Virtue and Efficacy of the Holy Spirit we are cleans'd and wash'd, as it were with Water, and so are renew'd and regenerated: and *except a Man be thus born of Water and of the Spirit*, he can never enter into the State of Grace here, or into that of Glory hereafter, which are meant by *the Kingdom of God.* By comparing these Texts it is evident, that this is our Saviour's Meaning; and farther it will appear to be so, if we consider that the *Sacrament of Baptism* (as a *Christian Ordinance*) was not instituted at this time when Christ spoke those Words, *Except a Man be born, &c.* The Institution of this Sacrament was not 'till a Year after, *Matt. xxviii. 19.* and therefore Christ's Words can't possibly be meant of this. All this makes it plain, that the Papists are mistaken (who follow some of the Antients) when they apply *this* Text to the Outward Part of Baptism, and the *other* to the External Eating and Drinking the Lord's Supper; whereas they are both spoken concerning a *Spiritual Washing and Manducation.*

But it is of this latter that I'm now discoursing, and I will farther shew that this Interpretation must necessarily be embraced. For it is to be remember'd, that what I said before of the Institution of Baptism, is as true concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; that is, it was not instituted when these Words were spoken by our Saviour, and consequently they can't be understood concerning Eating and Drinking Christ's Body and Blood in that Sacrament. Christ presses the *Eating his Flesh and Drinking his Blood* as a present Duty, incumbent upon all the *Jews* that he spoke to, and as necessary to their eternal Happiness.

piness. This was a great while before he ordain'd the Commemoration of his Death in the *Eucharist*, and therefore we must needs infer hence, that these Words of Christ, *Except ye eat, &c.* have no Relation to the Sacrament.

Again, Christ himself acquaints us, that these Words are not meant of a Corporal and Sensual Eating and Drinking of his Flesh and Blood, *John vi. 63. It is the Spirit that quick'neth; the Flesh profiteth nothing;* as much as to say, it is the Spiritual Eating and Drinking that I speak of: for the Carnal one (if it were possible) would be of no Advantage to you. And he adds, *The Words that I speak unto you, they are Spirit, and they are Life,* i. e. what I have said to you concerning the Eating my Flesh, and Drinking my Blood, is to be taken in a spiritual and mystical Sense, and so it will conduce to Life and Happiness. Thus we see the gross Conceit of the *Capernaïtes*, and since of the *Papists*, concerning the carnal Eating of Christ's Body, confuted and baffled by Christ himself.

I will annex the remarkable Words of a learned Father concerning this Place of Scripture which I have been insisting upon. * *If any Place of Scripture, saith he, seems to command a Crime, or horrid Action, it is figurative; as when it is said, [Except ye eat the Flesh, and drink the Blood of the Son of Man, ye have no Life in you.] Which seems to command some Crime or horrid Action, therefore 'tis a Figure, commanding us to communicate in the Passion of our Lord, and sweetly and profitably to lay up in our Memories, that his Flesh was crucified and wounded for us.* This is his Exposition of our Saviour's Words, and in † another Place he repeats it, and tells us, that the Sense of what our Lord delivers is this, that except a Man be incorporated into Christ, and partake of his Body and Blood by Faith, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

* Augustin. lib. 3. de doctr. Christi. c. 16.

† Lib. 3. de Peccator. meritis. & 16 Tractat, in Johan.

Fourthly, Suppose our Saviour's Words were meant of the *Sacrament*, yet they make nothing at all for *Transubstantiation*. For the Sacramental Eating of Christ's Body is a spiritual Eating, not a carnal and bodily one. At the Lord's Supper *all* Communicants partake of the outward Elements, but *Believers* only do spiritually feed upon Christ, and have the Benefit of the Invisible and Inward Part of the Sacrament; and consequently they in the intended Meaning of our Saviour are the only Persons that eat Christ's Body and drink his Blood. Which is a very strong Argument against *Transubstantiation*: for if the Elements were chang'd into the Body and Blood of Christ, then all Communicants would partake of his Body and Blood, the wicked as well as the godly; and so the *Papists* hold. But we have learnt otherwise from the Scripture; which lets us know, that by Faith alone, and those sacred Qualifications which accompany it, we partake of Christ in the Sacrament, and this is the true and only Eating and Drinking of his Body and Blood. And we are assur'd from our Saviour's own Mouth, that *whofo eateth his Flesh, and drinketh his Blood, hath eternal Life*; but no impenitent Sinner *hath eternal Life*: therefore we rightly infer, that no impenitent Sinner *eateth the Flesh and drinketh the Blood of Christ*. As there is a *mystical Presence* of Christ's Body in the Sacrament, so there is a *mystical Eating and Drinking* of it, and that is by Faith and Sincerity of Heart; which are proper only to the Elect and Regenerate.

This was the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, as we learn from St. *Augustine*, * *Why dost thou prepare thy Teeth and thy Belly? Do but believe, and thou hast eaten the Body of Christ*. And this is the Sense of our Church. Believing and other holy Dispositions of Mind are reckon'd by her as *Eating Christ's Body*: for the Communicant is bid to *take and eat the*

* Tract. 25. in vi. Johan.

*Bread, in remembrance that Christ died for him, and to feed on him in his Heart, by Faith and Thanksgiving. Yea, the Minister is order'd to acquaint the sick Person whom he visits, that *if he do truly repent of his Sins, and stedfastly believe that Jesus Christ hath suffer'd Death upon the Cross for him, and shed his Blood for his Redemption, earnestly remembring the Benefits he hath thereby, and giving him hearty Thanks therefore, he doth eat and drink the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his Soul's Health, altho' he doth not receive the Sacrament with his Mouth. It is plain then, that tho' the above-cited Texts should be understood concerning the Sacrament, yet it follows not thence that the Bread and Wine are turn'd into the Real Flesh and Blood of Christ, and that these are eaten and drunk by the Communicants; for the Sacramental Eating and Drinking are Spiritual. This, I hope, gives full Satisfaction to the Objection from those Texts in St. John.*

But yet for the Sake of some other Objectors I will farther add, that this way of Speaking, namely, *Eating Christ's Flesh and Drinking his Blood*, is adapted to the Stile and Language of the Holy Scripture in the Old Testament. † *Maimonides* observes, that *Eating and Drinking* are applied by those Holy Writers to Learning and Wisdom, and all Intellectual and Moral Improvements, as in *Prov. xxiv. 13. xxv. 27. Isai. lv. 2.* and other Places. And he tells us, that the *Hebrew Rabbins* use the same Phrase and Manner of Speaking; for in their Writings *Eating* is being made wise and religious. And the learned *Grotius* hath observ'd that this is an usual Allegory among the *Jews*; for which he quotes an excellent *Jewish* Writer, who expressly saith, || "The common and bodily Eating is " a Symbol or Representation of the Spiritual and

* The Rubrick for the Communion of the Sick. † More Nevoch.

|| Το γὰρ φαγεῖν σύμβολόν ἐστι τροφῆς ψυχικῆς· τρεφίταις δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπαλήψει τῶν καλῶν καὶ πράξῃ τῶν καλοφρονημάτων. Philo.

Mental Eating: the Soul is nourish'd by the Reception of Good, and the Practice of what is right. Yea, the most Improv'd *Gentiles* were no Strangers to this; for **Truth*, according to one of their most eminent Sages, is *the Food of the Soul*. It is no Wonder then that our blessed Saviour, who frequently speaks conformably to the Stile that hath been used by others (as many learned Writers have observ'd) compares his Doctrines and Institutions, and all things that belong to his Heavenly Religion and Kingdom, to *Eating* and *Drinking*; and particularly in *John* vi. 27. he gives them the Name of *Meat*. For as our natural Life is upheld by common and ordinary Repast, so our Spiritual Life and Vigour are maintain'd by these holy and Coelestial Viands. It is no Wonder that he calls himself *the Bread of Life*, and declares that *his Flesh is Meat indeed*, and *his Blood is Drink indeed*, and that *except a Man eat his Flesh and drink his Blood, he hath no Life in him*. Thus we may be convinc'd of the Agreeableness of this Language, without distorting it to the Sense of the *Roman Church*.

St. Paul is alledg'd, 1 *Cor.* x. 16. *The Cup of Blessing, which we bless, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ? The Bread, which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?* Whence it is argued by the Writers of the Church of *Rome*, that unless Christ's Body and Blood were truly in the Sacrament, they could not be *communicated*, there could not be a *Participation* of them. But a short Reply to this will serve, namely, that we do not deny that Christ's Body and Blood are truly in the Lord's Supper; for they are there mystically and spiritually, and consequently are truly there, but we deny that they are there *substantially*. When therefore the Apostle saith that there is a *Communion* of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, it is not implied that the Body and Blood themselves are really and

* Plato in *Cratyl.* & de *Repub.*

substantially *communicated*; but this only we are to understand by that Expression, that the Sacrament is a Sign and Representation to us of the *Body and Blood of Christ*, the Benefits of which are *communicated* and *imparted* to us in the right celebrating of that Ordinance: We are thereby made *Partakers* of the Fruits of his Suffering and Dying for us.

The Apostle's Words in 1 Cor. xi. 27. *Whosoever shall eat this Bread, and drink this Cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord*, are made use of by our Adversaries; for, say they, none that receive the Sacrament can be *guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord*, unless his Body and Blood be there. To which I briefly answer, unworthy Communicants are said to be *guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord*, because they are guilty of prophaning this Sacrament, which was design'd to be, and really is a Symbol and Representation of Christ's Body and Blood.

But the 29th Verse of the foresaid Chapter is also cited, *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh Damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's Body*. Whence they frame this Argument, If Christ's Body must be *discern'd* by those that receive the Sacrament, it must be really and substantially present there. The Vanity of which Pleading will soon appear, if we rightly understand what is *the discerning of the Lord's Body*; which is no other than this, a making a *Difference* between this Bread and Wine, which represent Christ's Body and Blood, and that Bread and Wine which are at an ordinary Feast. And, on the contrary, *the not discerning the Lord's Body* is the not duly considering this great *Difference*, and the not remembring that no less than the *Body and Blood of Christ* are signified and held forth in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper by Bread and Wine, and therefore ought to be worthily eaten and drank.

From Scripture again they argue after this Manner,
As difficult and impossible things are said in other
Places

Places of Scripture concerning Christ's Body, as that of its being really present in the Sacrament, and yet not discern'd by the outward Sense. We read that Christ rose out of the Sepulchre when it was shut and seal'd; he appear'd after his Resurrection sometimes in one Shape, and sometimes in another; he vanish'd out of the Sight of his Disciples; he came in unto them when the Door was shut; tho' he was in Heaven, yet he shew'd himself to St. *Stephen* here on Earth: Which are as strange and wonderful things as the Deception of the Sight and other corporal Senses in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But this we justly deny: For first, it is easy to account for the Removal of our Saviour's Body out of the Sepulchre, tho' this was shut and seal'd; for an Angel came and open'd the Door of the Sepulchre, and roll'd away the Stone; so that here was no Penetration of Dimensions, nor any Deception of the Sight, as our Adversaries imagine, to make it parallel with what they suppose to be in the Eucharist. As for Christ's appearing in a different Shape or Likeness, as when *Mary Magdalen* suppos'd him to be a Gardiner, *John* xx. 15. this may very well be resolv'd into her Fear and Surprise, and the Circumstances mention'd in the Context will confirm us in it: Besides, that it is very probable that she was not at that time in such a direct Posture of Body, that she could well see and discern who our Saviour was; but as soon as *she turn'd herself* (which is expressly mention'd, *v.* 16. on purpose as it were to solve the seeming Difficulty) she had a distinct View of him, and knew him. And farther, it is not to be wonder'd at that *Mary* mistook one Person for another at That Time: for the Evangelical History tells us, that she came *Early while it was yet dark* to the Sepulchre, *John* xx. 1. As to Christ's *vanishing out of the Sight of his Disciples*, *Luk.* xxiv. 31. it implies in it no imposing upon their Senses, but the plain Meaning is, that Christ went suddenly out of their Sight, and disappear'd, but it

is not said (as the learned * Dr. *Hammond* observes) in *what Manner and by what Means*, and therefore the Objectors can draw no Arguments thence for their Purpose.

Nor can they from *John xx. 19. When the Doors were shut, where the Disciples were assembled for Fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the Midst*: for it is not said that Christ came thro' the Doors, but that he came when the Doors were shut, to signify to us that he came in the *Evening*, which is also expressly mention'd in that Place, *Then the same Day at Evening, &c.* He came to them at that time when it was the Custom to *shut their Doors*, and make them fast, lest Thieves and Robbers should break in upon them. And besides, they were afraid that these *Jews*, who were their profess'd Enemies and Persecutors, should hear or see them when they were met together. Therefore 'tis said, *for Fear of the Jews* they met privately, and to secure themselves shut the Doors fast. At this time Christ came and visited them, and was admitted into their Assembly. Or it may be said that he forcibly made his way, the Doors being shut; for if an Angel open'd the Prison Doors when *Peter* was imprison'd, surely we ought to grant that Christ was able to open these Doors, tho' they were never so fast shut: and this he might do, tho' the Disciples perceiv'd it not, and that may be the Reason why it is thus worded, *He came in, the Doors being shut*. But what is this to *Transubstantiation*, for which it is alledg'd?

But doth not Christ's *appearing bodily to St. Stephen* prove, that his Body is of such an extraordinary Quality that it can be in Heaven and Earth at the same time, and that our Senses are not exact Judges in this great Matter, and therefore ought not to be in the Sacrament? I answer, Christ's Appearance to *St. Stephen* was not bodily, but was only a *Vision*, a way

* Paraphrase on the Place.

of Revelation usual in the Old Testament, and many Examples of it we have in the New ; and here to confirm *Stephen's* Faith when he was suffering and dying, God vouchsafed this glorious Vision to him. It was impossible for him to see Christ so far off with his bodily Eyes ; or if by a Miracle he could have seen him, yet his *Standing at the right Hand of God* (which is particularly mention'd *Acts* vii. 55.) could not (properly speaking) be an Object of corporal Sight. To put a Close to these Disputes, how far Christ's Body may be said to have been a *Glorified Body* after his Resurrection, is not easy to determine : But this we are certain of, that his Body was not so alter'd but that it retain'd still the Nature of a *True Body* ; for we read that he eat and drank with his Disciples, and the very *Marks* of his *Wounds* remain'd on his Body, and therefore we may infer that those Places of Scripture, which have been produced to favour such an extraordinary Change in Christ's Body, as may countenance *Transubstantiation*, are mistaken and misapplied by the Popish Writers. Thus much of the *Scriptures*, which the *Romanists* argue from : Now for *Reason*, which they also pretend to. And first, they argue from God's *Omnipotency*. Seeing God is Almighty, and can do all things, why should we doubt whether he can't cause the Body of Christ to be present in the Sacrament, and in diverse Places at once, yea, though we can't discern with our bodily Eyes that Christ is bodily Present there? It is not necessary we should comprehend this Mystery ; but this we know, that God can do more than we can conceive and understand, and we are sure that nothing is impossible with God. He that saith, *This is my Body*, is able to make it so, and therefore we ought to believe it. This Pretence of Reasoning is soon blown away by this one Consideration, that God's *Omnipotency* reaches not to Contradictions, and to things in their own Nature impossible, as a Body's being in diverse Places at one time, which I have before shew'd. Therefore in this Case

it is very idle and vain in those of the Church of *Rome* to run to God's *Absolute Power*, and to think that that will defend them and their Contradictions. This is poor Arguing, Because God is Omnipotent, therefore Transubstantiation is True; Because God is Omnipotent, Men must believe what is contrary to Scripture and common Reason. This is abusing God's Omnipotency, and making it serve their evil Purposes, that is, patronizing the greatest Absurdities and Contradictions.

They argue from the *Hypostatical Union* of the Humanity and Divinity of Christ, that his Body may be in all Places, and then consequently in diverse ones, and particularly in all those Places where the Sacrament is administred. Nay the *Papists* are not alone here: The *Lutherans* hold, Christ is every where Bodily, because his Human Nature is join'd to the Divine Nature by a Personal Union. The Body of Christ is (say they) never separated from his Godhead; therefore where the Godhead is, there is his Manhood, there is his Flesh, his Body. I answer; Tho' the Body of Christ be inseparable from his Divinity, yet it follows not thence that his Body is in every Place: And the Reason is plain, because this Hypostatical Union of the Divinity and Humanity is not a Bodily Union. Whence it follows, that tho' there is a Conjunction of Christ's Human and Divine Nature in one Person, yet the former is not every where. The Ground of which is this, that Christ's Body, as it is a Body, must needs be Finite, and consequently circumscrib'd by some Place; and on that Account it is impossible that it should be capable of being in more Places than one, much less can it be in all Places at a time. This is so clear and evident, that no Man will deny it, unless he hath the Confidence to say that the *Propriety of a Body* is lost by Christ's assuming it, and being join'd to it, and that it becomes *Immense* and *Infinite*: And he that says this, must assert that Finite and Infinite are the same.

And

And if by Virtue of the Hypostatical Union Christ's Body be every where, then these following Absurdities must be digested; namely, that his Body was every where when it was in the Virgin's Womb, when it was in the Manger, when it was in the Temple; yea, when it was in the Grave: And we must hold likewise that the Womb, the Manger, the Temple, the Sepulchre were every where; for if they were where Christ's Body was, and that Body was in all Places, then they too must be in all Places. And hence it will follow also that Christ was born in several Places, yea, in all Places, and yet at the same time was not born: And that he was buried in several Places, yea, in all Places, and yet not buried. Wherefore unless we are prepared to swallow and digest all these Contradictions, we must hold that the inseparable Conjunction of Christ's Human Nature with the Divine, which is present every where, doth not infer the Omnipresence of his Human Nature or Body. Thus it is manifest, that both *Papists* and *Lutherans* have no Ground for the *Corporal Presence in the Sacrament* from the Doctrine of the *Hypostatical Union*. It is likely that it was on this Consideration, that **Luther* acknowledg'd his Error touching the Opinion he held of the Corporal Presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

Lastly, The *Roman* Doctors are wont to argue from the settled Belief of the sacred *Trinity*. If this, say they, be acknowledg'd and believ'd by *Protestants*, as well as *Papists*, why may not the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* be so too, seeing one is as much above our Reason, as the other? I answer, there is a vast Difference betwixt the Popish Doctrine of the *Eucharist*, and that of the Blessed *Trinity*. The *Platonick* Philosophers asserted this latter, and by the same or the very like Words express'd the three Persons that Christianity doth: Which argues, that they did not

reckon a *Triad* in the Deity as a thing irrational and absurd. Nor indeed is it : for though Three Persons join'd in one Essence, or common Nature (which is the Notion of the Trinity) be a thing sublime, yet it hath no downright Contradictions in it to startle us. It is a Mystery *above* our Reason, but not *against* it ; it hath *Difficulties*, but not *Impossibilities*. But this cannot be said of the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* concerning the *Eucharist* : for I have proved already that it contains *Contradictions* and *Impossibilities*, as that a Body may be in ten thousand Places at once ; and that though *it is* in all those Places, yet *it is not*. For if all of it (as is asserted) be in one Place, then there can be Nothing of it in another, much less can there be All of it in another : And accordingly when they say *Christ's Body is* in many Places, it is virtually a *Contradiction*, because they must needs acknowledge that *it is not* in many Places.

And this likewise is to be said, that when we discourse of *Spirits*, especially of an *infinite Spirit*, it is difficult to conceive, and hard to express ourselves aright : for Reason is non-plus'd in matters of an Infinite Nature ; and therefore it is no wonder that the Doctrine of the *Trinity* is not levell'd to the Conceptions and Words of every shallow Mortal. Where the Disproportion is Infinite between us and the things, it is no marvel that we are not able to grasp them. But *Bodies*, which are Finite Beings, are things we converse with daily, and it is our proper Province and Task to judge of them. *Reason* is here in its own Sphere, and can act with Boldness and Confidence. The Matter before us is Sensible and Finite, and such as we are able to deal with. But it is otherwise when the Mystery of the Trinity is the Object of our Thoughts and Meditations : Therefore the Papists have no Reason to make *this* and *Transubstantiation* Parallels.

And thus I have answer'd all their Pleas for Transubstantiation, taken either from Scripture or Reason.

And

And indeed the Case is so clear, that several of the learnedest Writers of the Church of *Rome* hold that there is no certain Proof of this Doctrine from any Text in the Bible, and they profess they believe it not by Virtue of any *necessary Consequence and Reasoning*, but on the Account of the Exposition given to them by *Tradition*.

By way of *Application* we are to know what is our Duty, in Opposition to this Doctrine of the Papists; and first *Negatively*, Be not taken with the fond Notion of Transubstantiation; Be not induced to own a Doctrine which is so *groundless* and *precarious*. And (to prevail with you farther) consider how many idle and vain idolatrous Usages depend upon this erroneous Notion. Our Church speaks very modestly, when she saith, * *Transubstantiation hath given Occasion to many Superstitions*. Hence proceed solemn *Processions*, *Masses*, *Elevation of the Host*, and downright *worshipping* it. Hence they box it up, and sometimes on very *trivial* Occasions bring it forth, and use it as a *Charm* and an *Amulet*. These and several other Practices are founded on that false Apprehension, that the Bread in the Sacrament is turn'd into the Real and Natural Body of Christ. Wherefore it is needful that we entertain not this wrong Conception concerning the Eucharist.

Next, *Positively*, as the *Romanists* are in an Error, so let us be careful to attain to the Truth in this Matter, and let us know what we are to assert and defend, as we are *Protestants*. The Sum of it is this, that the Presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament is not a Local and Corporal, but a Spiritual and Mystical Presence; that is, the essential, natural, and substantial Body and Blood of our Saviour are represented and signified in the Sacrament by the Bread and Wine. These are appointed by Christ to be Symbols and Pledges of his Body and Blood; and therefore in Eat-

ing and Drinking of these, we are said to eat Christ's Body, and to drink Christ's Blood. This is the Spiritual and Sacramental Receiving of Christ in the Lord's Supper, and it depends wholly on the Faith of the Receiver. We may call this a *Real Presence* to distinguish it from an *imaginary* one, or none at all: but if by a *Real Presence* be meant the *Corporal* and *Local Presence* of the Substance of Christ's Body, by the changing of the Substance of Christ's Body, it is utterly to be denied. I know Mr. *Thorndyke* and several of the Church of *England* hold, that the real and natural Body of Christ is present in the Sacrament, and that this Presence depends not on the Faith of the Communicant; and they would persuade us, that this is the Sense of our Church, because she saith in her Catechism, that *the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received*. But this can't be understood of a Corporal Presence or a Bodily Receiving of Christ, because our Church in *another Place denies that there is *any Corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood* in the Sacrament. And she adds, that *the Natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in Heaven, and not here; it being against the Truth of Christ's Natural Body to be at one time in more Places than one*. This plainly shews what is the Sense of our Church, and clears her from giving any Allowance to the Real or Carnal Presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper. She holds that there is no Substance in the Sacrament besides the Substance of the Bread and Wine; and that these, according to Christ's Institution, do represent and signify to us his real Body and Blood.

Lastly, Let our *Practice* be answerable to our right Apprehensions concerning this Sacrament. When we approach to it, on the one hand let us be careful that we be not irreverent and rude, unmindful of discerning the Lord's Body, which is represented by the Ele-

* Declaration at the End of the Communion.

ments: on the other Hand far be it from us to shew ourselves idolatrous and superstitious, by paying too great a Reverence to the Elements, yea by worshiping them, upon a false Persuasion that they are turn'd into Christ's Body and Blood. I am afraid that *Kneeling*, which is a Posture of *Adoration*, was brought in upon this Account, whereas at first it is certain that a Table-Gesture was used. Our Church in her *Declaration at the End of the Communion* (which I mention'd before) hath purg'd herself from all Intentions of enjoining this Gesture, with respect to any Corporal Presence, or Adoration paid to the Sacramental Bread and Wine. But if she had been pleas'd to have laid this Gesture aside (which is lawful and laudable in itself, and is made use of in the Sacrament by some without Offence) all *Occasion* of Superstition and Jealousy would have been removed. And this seems to me to be the more requisite, because tho' the Church of *England* in her Service and elsewhere condemns the Corporal Presence and all Adoration paid on that Account, yet some of her Officers and Ministers express a Favour to them, telling us that Christ's Body and Blood are really present in the Eucharist, but the *Manner* is not to be enquir'd into, they say: as if there were a *Carnal and Substantial Presence* of the Natural Body of Christ, tho' we are ignorant of the *Manner* of it. And thus the People, who hear them thus discourse, are enclined indeed to believe the Corporal Presence, only they are not broadly told the *Manner* of it. But the best and safest Way is to be free and open, and let the People know that Christ's Body and Blood are *Spiritually Present*, and *Spiritually receiv'd* in the Sacrament, and by the Faithful only: and that the Elements retain their *Nature*, tho' not their Use; that they are Bread and Wine still, but they are separated from a common Use to that which is holy; they are by Christ's own Institution appointed to be the Signs and Representations of his Real Body and Blood, and on that Account are call'd so.

But the Substance of them is not converted into another Substance ; and the Change that is made is only Figurative and Sacramental. And, to comprise all in the brief, but comprehensive Words of our Church, Art. XXVIII. *The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an Heavenly and Spiritual Manner : and the Mean, whereby the Body of Christ is receiv'd and taken in the Supper, is Faith.* And in the same Place she saith, *Transubstantiation overthrowes the Nature of a Sacrament.*



CHAP. IV.

Of the Sacrifice of the MASS.



HERE are three corrupt Doctrines in the Church of *Rome* concerning the *Sacrament of the Lord's Supper* ; the first is, that the Bread and Wine are chang'd into the real Body and Blood of Christ ; and of this I have spoken already. The second is, that the Body and Blood of Christ are really and properly sacrific'd and offer'd by the Priest in every Mass. The third is, that tho' the Bread only be given to the People, yet they receive both the Body and Blood of Christ, and consequently it is sufficient to communicate in one kind only. Of the former of these I am now to treat, and to shew that the Doctrine which the Pontificians maintain concerning the *Sacrifice of the Mass* is erroneous and false, and repugnant both to Scripture and Reason.

But first I will briefly premise something concerning the Original of this Word [*Mass*] or the *Latin* Word [*Missa*] from whence the *English* came. Passing by the Fancy of those who think this Word to be

be of *Hebrew* Extraction, as if *Missa* were derived from [*Missab*] *Oblatio*, (which is * *Bellarmino's* Conceit, and he founds it on *Deut. xvi. 10.* but he should have observ'd that it is *Missath*, not in *Construction*, but as a different Word from *Missab*, in that Place) it is probable that *Missa*, the *Mass*, hath its Denomination from the *Dismission* of the People by the Deacon, who cried out, *Ite, Missa est*, i. e. *Missio vel dimissio est*; for when the Purity of the *Latin* Tongue decreas'd, they instead of *Missio*, said *Missa*. There was something like this among the *Jews*; in their Synagogues they read a Portion of Scripture out of some of the Prophets, and this they call'd *Haphtarab*, *dimissionem*, or *cessationem*, from the Verb *Pater dimisit, cessavit*: because as soon as this Text was read and expounded, the People were *dismiss'd*. And among the *Gentiles* there was the like Custom, and these Words were used at the Dismission of the People at Funerals, and other Occasions, *Illicet, Actum est, Illicet; Missa est*: That is, the Assembly is dismiss'd, you may depart.

Hence the Word was taken up by the *Christian Church*, and was of innocent Use at first; the *Greek Church* shut up their Meetings with a *λαοὺς ἀφίστις*, the People are dismiss'd, or the People may depart. So in the *Latin Church* (as we said before) the Deacon after the Sermon said with a loud Voice, *Ite, missa est*, The Assembly is dismiss'd, ye may be gone. Not as some *Roman* Doctors have interpreted those Words, *Ite, missa est*; Go in Peace, the Host is sent to God to pacify his Anger. But those Words (in the former Sense) were spoken to the *Catechumeni*, to admonish them to be gone before the Sacrament was administer'd. So that *Missa* (as was said before) is as much as *Missio*, or *dimissio est*, i. e. the Dismission of the *Catechumeni* before the Eucharist.

* Lib. 1. de *Missa*. cap. 1.

And hereupon the *Sacrament it self* was call'd *Missa*, and sometimes the whole *Service* and *Liturgy* have this Denomination. We take it at present in the *former Acception*, as the Papiſts always do in the Controversy we are now to diſcuſs : And they are wont to call it the *Sacrifice of the Maſs*, becauſe the Maſs is that ſolemn Office of the Church of *Rome*, wherein the Prieſt offers up the Sacrament as a *Sacrifice* to God. And this Offering of Chriſt's Body and Blood muſt be perform'd daily : And 'tis expiatory for the Living and the Dead.

That the Church of *Rome* holds this, every one that hath convers'd with their moſt authentick Writers cannot but know. And it is the ſeventeenth Article of the *Trent-Creed*, impos'd on all to be believ'd and acknowledg'd, on Pain of Damnation, *that in the Maſs there is offer'd a true, proper, and propitiatory Sacrifice for the Living and the Dead*. This Doctrine is peremptorily aſſerted by that Council with a Curſe in the Cloſe, as is uſually at the End of their Canons. **Whoever ſhall ſay the Sacrifice of the Maſs is not to be uſed for the dead is Accuſed.*

In Confutation of this Doctrine, ſomething I will freely grant, and ſomething I muſt flatly deny. I will grant that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, if rightly and duly celebrated, may in ſome Senſe be call'd a *Sacrifice*. It may have that Name on the ſame Account that other Acts and Duties of Religion are ſo denominated : Thus we read of the *Sacrifice* of a *broken and contrite Spirit*, *Pſalm li. 17. of Praise or Thankſgiving*, *Heb. xiii. 15. of Preaching*, *Rom. xv. 16. of doing good and communicating*, *ſ. 16.* and this is call'd A SACRIFICE *acceptable, well-pleaſing to God*, *Phil. iv. 18.* And Prayer and all our other Chriſtian Services and Duties may be call'd Sacrifices, *i. e.* Spiritual Sacrifices and Oblations : And therefore Believers are ſaid to be a *holy Priesthood to offer up Spiri-*

* Conc. Trid. Seſſ. 6. Can. 30. & Seſſ. 22. Can. 3.

tual Sacrifice acceptable to God by Jesus Christ. 1 Pet. ii. 5. Again, the Lord's Supper may be call'd a Sacrifice, because here are offer'd those particular Sacrifices before-mention'd, namely of Prayer, Contrition, Alms, Praise and Thanksgiving; especially this last; for there is an Eucharistical Oblation, whereby we shew our Thankfulness to God the Father, and to his Son Christ Jesus our Sacrifice. Hence it is that this Sacrament is call'd the *Eucharist* by the antient Writers of the Church. And farther it may be stiled a *Sacrifice*, because here good Men offer themselves to God in the most solemn Manner. Here it is that they more signally and eminently than at other times *present their Bodies a living Sacrifice acceptable unto God, which is their reasonable Service*, Rom. xii. 1. Thus the Lord's Supper is a *Sacrifice*, and contains several others in it.

The Sacrament may have this Title on this Account likewise, namely, because here is celebrated the Memory of Christ, our one and only Sacrifice. In the Lord's Supper his once offering himself on the Cross is again and again commemorated: not in the Sense that the *Romanists* mean it, that is, that the Priest represents Christ's Passion to God the Father, and doth as 'twere put him in mind thereof, by setting these Mysteries before him: but we testify our own Mindfulness of Christ's offering himself for us, and we desire that God would for his Sake be favourable and propitious to us. Thus the Sacrament is a Commemoration of Christ's Real Sacrifice, and for that Reason was itself call'd a *Sacrifice* and an *Oblation* by the * *Greek* Fathers, and by the *Latin* † ones. They thought fit to give it this Name, because it is that sacred Ordinance wherein the Memory of Christ's sacrificing himself for our Redemption is perpetuated.

* Θυσία, προσφορά. Irenæus, Chrysostom. ἀντίστασις θυσία, θυσία πνευματική. Greg. Naz.

† Sacrificium, oblatio, hostia; Cyprian, Augustin. Ambrose.

We may call it a *Commemorative Sacrifice*, that is, a solemn Memorial of the Great Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross. And truly it was instituted for this very Purpose; the Design of it was to call to Remembrance this Sacrifice. And we call the *Symbol* or *Sign* by the *Thing signified*: as we call the Bread and Wine the Body and Blood of Christ.

But if we speak of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as it is described by the Church of *Rome*, we can by no means call it a *Sacrifice* in that Sense, and in those Expressions in which they represent it: for neither the Sacrament itself, nor that which is pretended to be offer'd in it, is a *True* and *proper Sacrifice*, nor is it a *propitiatory* Sacrifice, nor a Sacrifice for the *Living and the Dead*.

First, here is not *properly* any *Sacrifice*; for all this implies in it these two things, *Mactation* and *Oblation*; but neither of these are to be found in the Mass. Not the former; for there is no slaying or killing of Christ here; that was done long ago: And the Papists themselves grant, that the Mass is an *unbloody Sacrifice*, which is as much as to say that there is no killing or shedding of Blood in this Sacrament. Not the latter; for there can be no *offering up* of Christ in the Mass, if he be not corporally there, and if the Bread and Wine be not transmuted into his very Body and Blood. This is own'd by our Adversaries themselves: for they ground the Doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass upon that of *Transubstantiation*, which asserts Christ's real Body to be in the Mass, because the Elements of Bread and Wine are turn'd into his Body and Blood. If this be so, then there is a *true proper Offering*: but we having confuted *Transubstantiation*, this Notion must needs fall to the Ground; and there is Reason to assert that there is no Real and Personal *Oblation* of Christ in the Mass, and consequently that there is no *proper Sacrifice*.

Secondly, there is no *Propitiatory* Sacrifice here. This the *Roman* Catholicks do as good as acknowledge,

ledge, when they say that the Mass is an *Unbloody Sacrifice*: For if it be so, it can't be a Propitiatory one, for *without Shedding of Blood there is no Remission*, *Hebr. ix. 22*. It was so under the Tabernacle, and the Legal Dispensation, and it is so under the Evangelical Economy. It was so in the Type, and it is the same in the Anti-Type: For the Effusion of Blood under the Law, and the Purgations that were made by it were but Figures and Representations of that great Propitiation, which was to be made by Christ's Shedding of his Blood. Therefore it is against the plain Decision and Determination of the Holy Spirit in the forecited Text, to maintain that there is in the Mass an *Expiatory Sacrifice*, and yet to say it is *without Blood*. These Assertions confute one another.

Besides, if the Mass be (as the Church of Rome confesses) an unbloody Sacrifice, then it is different from the Sacrifice on the Cross, for that was bloody: and then how doth this agree with what they say, that the Sacrifice of the Cross is *Reiterated* in the Mass? If it be *reiterated*, 'tis of the same Nature; and if it be so, how can it be *Unbloody*? for *Unbloody* and *Bloody* are of different Natures. Thus our Adversaries run themselves into apparent Contradictions.

And again, if the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper be now a Propitiatory Sacrifice, then it was so at first: for I suppose they will not grant that it varies from the first Institution. Now, if it was a Propitiatory Sacrifice at the first Institution, that is, when Christ himself celebrated it with his Apostles, then it follows that Christ offer'd up his Body and Blood at his last Supper as a Propitiatory Sacrifice to God; and from thence it will necessarily follow that he laid down his Life, and expiated for the Sins of the World before he suffer'd on the Cross. And if this be true, then it follows that Christ died twice, and expiated a second time for the Sins of Mankind: And then it will follow that his first Expiation was to no purpose; for

else why did he undertake the Task a second Time? These and other *Absurdities* are the natural Consequences of the Popish Doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass.

Thirdly, I need not insist long upon the last thing I mention'd, namely, that the Mass is untruly said to be a Sacrifice for the *Living and the Dead*. It cannot expiate for the former of these, because Nothing but Christ's Real Blood can do this: But I have proved already, that this is not present in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and therefore cannot be offer'd in Expiation of the Sins of the Living; much less for those of the Dead; for the Sins of all Persons must be expiated for in this Life, who shall be admitted into Heaven at their Death. I shall have Occasion to say more of this, when I proceed to treat of *Purgatory*, and therefore I shall add no more at present. From what hath been said, I conceive, it is clearly evidenc'd that the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* concerning the *Sacrifice of the Mass* is very false and groundless.

Now let us come next to *Positive Places of Scripture*, which will more fully prove this. How often is it said that Christ *once* suffer'd, and died, and made himself a Sacrifice for Sin? *Rom. vi. 10. In that he died, he died unto Sin once*, that is, he died once and no more, to satisfy for Sin. *Heb. vii. 27. He needed not daily to offer up Sacrifice: for this he did once, when he offer'd up himself*: Once for all, and consequently no Offering up of himself is requir'd afterwards. *Heb. ix. 26. Now once in the End of the World hath he appear'd to put away Sin by the Sacrifice of himself*. It is sufficient that he was *once* a Sacrifice, therefore there is no need of repeating it. And *ψ. 28. Christ was once offer'd to bear the Sins of many*. And why then is he offer'd, that is, pretended to be offer'd in the Mass by the Priest? Was it not enough that he once offer'd himself? Yes, certainly, and these Texts do prohibit any other Offering. And that

that we may be farther assur'd of this grand Truth, that Christ's Oblation and Sacrifice are not to be repeated, the same inspired Writer tells us that *we are sanctified thro' the offering of the Body of Jesus Christ once for all. Heb. x. 10.* And again, *after he had offer'd ONE Sacrifice for Sins, he for ever sat down at the right Hand of God,* having no occasion to offer a Sacrifice any more. There can't be plainer Words than these that I have produced to exclude any *other Sacrifice*, nay the *repeating* of that Sacrifice which was offer'd by Christ. This Sacrifice is but *one*, and it is to be offer'd but *once*: And we see that this is several times inculcated and press'd upon us, as if it were directly spoken, by a Prophetic Spirit, against the Popish Practice of the *Mass*, wherein Christ is daily offer'd by the Priests.

We may yet further reason from Scripture against this Doctrine and Practice in the *Roman Church*: For we are taught that *by one offering Christ hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified, Heb. x. 14.* That is to say, Christ's Sacrifice being compleat and perfect, there is no need of its being repeated. He offer'd himself once, and thereby he perfected them that are sanctified, *i. e.* all true Believers: He did all that was requisite for their entire Acceptation with God the Father, he purchas'd the full Pardon of all their Sins: And therefore his being once offer'd serves for ever: Which is the very arguing of the Apostle in the eighteenth Verse. *Now where Remission of these (Sins and Iniquities mention'd in the foregoing Verse) is, there is no more offering for Sin.* Christ having once obtain'd Pardon, and Reconciliation for us, by giving himself a Sacrifice for us, there must be, there can be, no sacrificing of him again. Which is absolutely contrary to what the Church of *Rome* asserts, namely, that Christ must be constantly sacrificed in the *Mass*, and that there he is sacrificed and that this sacrificing is of as great Virtue and

Efficacy as his first offering himself, that is, it is no less expiatory than his suffering on the Cross.

It may be further suggested against the Sacrament of the Altar which the Papists so earnestly cry up, that the *Nature of the Eucharist* is perverted by it, for this ought to be a *Communion* (as it is generally stiled) but in the common Mass, the Priest alone is the Guest at the Altar, and so it ceases to be a *Communion*. The Bread and Wine, which he saith are transform'd into Christ's Body and Blood, are offer'd by him as a Sacrifice for the People, but these partake not at all of them: the Priest eats all and drinks all: This is the manner of the *lurching* Sacrifice of the Mass, as Mr. * *Mede* calls it: But any one may see that this destroys the very Nature and Notion of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

There is yet a higher and more heinous Impeachment of the Popish Doctrine of the Mass. It is a Complication of several gross Errors: For in the Doctrine of the Mass are included, 1st, The Sacrament in one kind. 2^{dly}, Transubstantiation. 3^{dly}, Praying for the Dead. 4^{thly}, Purgatory. 5^{thly}, Idolatry or giving divine Worship to a Creature. In this last lies the great and chief Abomination of the Mass, viz. that 'tis offering of *Bread and Wine* to God as if they were a God. They are look'd upon as *Redeemers, Mediators, and Saviours*, for they expiate and atone for the Sins of the People, and they are worship'd and ador'd as such. But of this afterwards: I will conclude with the Words of *Martin Luther*. "† No Tongue, saith he, is able to express the Abominations of the *Mass*, neither can the Heart of Man comprehend the same. It were no wonder if God, for the sake thereof, long since had destroy'd the World with Fire and Brimstone." And again, "For the sake of the *Idol of the Mass*,

* *Discourse*, 43.

† *Coll. Mens.*

“ God in Justice might have drown’d and destroy’d
“ the whole World.

But let us hear what the Writers of the Church of *Rome* say for themselves. There is never wanting with them some Text or other, which is made use of to defend the worst of their Opinions. And here in the present Case they lay great Stress on two places of Scripture, one in the Old, another in the New Testament. The great Text in the Old Testament for the Mass is *Mal. i. 11. From the rising of the Sun, even to the going down of the same, my Name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place Incense shall be offer’d unto my Name, and a pure Offering; a* Prophecy concerning the rejecting of the *Jews*, and the calling of the *Gentiles*: It is here foretold that *God’s Name shall be great* among these latter, that is, he shall be known and worship’d by them, that not only in *Judea* (as at that time) but in every *Place* in all Parts and Regions of the World (as we know this Prediction was fulfill’d afterwards) the true God shall be own’d and adored, and his Service and Worship shall be set up, which are here express’d by the Names of *Incense* and a *pure Offering*. For it is usual to set forth the Evangelical Worship, by legal Terms as in this Book of *Malachi, chap. iii. 45.* and in *Isaiab, xlv. 23.* Yea, and in the New Testament, *Heb. xiii. 10.* And in those Places where the Worship under the Gospel hath the Denomination of *Sacrifice*. Thus *Incense* and *Offering* here signify the Spiritual Oblations and Sacrifices, which Christianity requires of us. And they are rightly stil’d a *pure Offering*, in contradistinction to the *polluted Services* of the *Jews*, against whom the Prophet *Malachi* complains in that first Chapter, and afterwards; and likewise to express that more than ordinary *Purity, Sincerity, and Integrity*, which are requir’d in all our religious Services, under the Gospel: When (as our Saviour saith) *the true Worshipers shall worship the Father in Spirit and in Truth: For the Father seeketh such to worship him,*

him, *Jobn* iv. 23. This is a plain and true Account of this Passage in *Malachi*; and now could a Man imagine that this should be cryed up for such an impregnable Proof of the *Sacrifice of the Mass*? Doth any wise and sober Man see any Consequence in this, *Incense shall be offer'd to God's Name, and a pure Offering*, therefore there ought to be daily in the Christian Church, an Offering of Christ's Body and Blood, as a Propitiatory Sacrifice both for the Dead and for the Living? This pretence of Arguing shews that the Patrons of the *Roman* Cause will take up any thing for a Bottom for their Opinions. They search and hunt about for Arguments, and make them when they cannot find them; they snatch at any Thing to uphold and defend their Points: The slightest Things are Proofs with them. He that sees their *Sandy* Foundations, will not think they build upon a *Rock*, as they pretend.

The usual Text they alledge out of the New Testament is *Luke* xxii. 19. *This do in remembrance of me.* And the same Words of the Institution of the Sacrament are mention'd by *St. Paul*, 1. *Cor.* xi. 24. They tell us with great Confidence, that these Words, *do this*, make both *Priest* and *Sacrifice*. According to them, two Sacraments are here made at once, *Orders* and the *Eucharist*. This is the profound Insight into Scripture, which the *Roman* Doctors have above the rest of the Christian World. *To do* in this Place is *to sacrifice*, say they, therefore there is such a Thing as the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass. To prove the Antecedent, * *Bellarmin* produces *Ex.* xxix. 38. and *Levit.* xv. 15. And some other Places where the Word *Gnasbah facere*, is applied to *sacrificing*; and he fetches in a known Place in *Virgil*, and thence concludes that *doing* and *sacrificing* are the same, and consequently that when our Saviour, in the instituting of the Sacrament, bids us *do this* in remembrance

* De Missa. l. 1. c. 12.

of him, he bids us *sacrifice* him, and offer him up daily on the Altar. To this I answer.

1st, It is not denied that the Verb *to do* hath relation in two or three Places to the Act of Sacrificing, and so indeed it may be said to signify *to sacrifice*, as it is applied to the Subject matter; but at all other times it is a general Word, and hath no Reference at all to Sacrificing: Nor hath it any in the Words of Institution. Therefore *Estius* and *Maldo-*
nat, tho' Friends to the *Roman* Cause, look on this as a trifling Argument: And so 'tis certainly, because *doing* denotes sacrificing, only when *sacrificing* was spoken of before, which cannot be said here.

2^{dly}, If *doing* here be the same with *sacrificing*, then the Words should run thus, *do me*, not *do this*: For according to the Popish Interpreters, this Passage refers to Christ himself, who they say is sacrificed in the Mass. But there is no ground for this sacrificing in the Text, because if it should be granted that *doing* signifies *sacrificing*, yet the sacrificing is applied to *this*, not to *him*, to the *Bread* or the eating of it, not to Christ. This shews that the arguing from the Word *ποιεῖτε*, *do*, is vain and impertinent, and doth not reach the thing which they design'd.

3^{dly}, We are to consider, that the *doing* here enjoin'd by Christ relates to all the Communicants, as well as to the Ministers. He speaks these Words, not only to the Apostles, as such, but as they were at this time Partakers of this Sacrament: And so he speaks to all Christians that shall participate of it to the World's end: *Do this*, saith he, *in remembrance of me*, in Commemoration of my Suffering and Death. Which cannot be applied to the Sacrifice of the *Mass*, because then all the Communicants, as well as the Priest, in every Sacrament, are bid to be *Sacrificers*; they are bid *to do this*, that is, according to the Popish Interpretation, to offer up Christ upon the Altar. But the Priests will not endure this: For it is their sole and incommunicable Pre-

rogative to offer up Christ, after they have first made him out of the Bread and Wine. Thus we may be convinced that the Interpretation, which the Writers of the Church of *Rome* give of this Text, is a Confutation of their own Doctrines.

4thly, It is evident from the Account which St. Paul gives of the Institution of the Lord's Supper, in which he is more particular than the *Evangelists*, that this Injunction, *do this*, refers to the *Eating* and *Drinking*, mention'd just before. See the 24th and 25th Verses of 1 Cor. xi. Whence it is clear, that the genuine and true Meaning of *doing this*, is that all the Faithful to the World's End should celebrate the Lord's Supper, they should make use of the Elements of Bread and Wine, to put them in Mind of the Body and Blood of Christ, and they should spiritually feed upon these. Where then is there any Ground for the Popish Mass, in these Words of our Blessed Lord? Who would think that the Asserters of the Sacrifice of the Mass should reckon this as a Text that makes considerably for them?

There is another, and some of the high Sticklers for the Mass urge it with great Vehemency. It is said, that *Christ is a Priest after the Order of Melchisedeck* Psalm cx. 4. Heb. v. 6. Now 'tis well known, say they, that *Melchisedeck* offer'd up a Sacrifice of Bread and Wine to God, Therefore. Therefore what? Therefore the Priests in the Sacrament of the Altar are bound to offer up Christ as a Sacrifice. This is strong Reasoning indeed, and it is such as some of the most celebrated Writers of the Church of *Rome* are not ashamed of. But any one may see that there is not the least shew of Argument in it; for tho' tis true that some of the antient Fathers of the Church make *Melchisedeck's* presenting of Bread and Wine to *Abraham*, a Figure or Representation of the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, yet none of them make use of it to prove a true Sacrifice there: And therefore 'tis observable that tho' it

is said, *Melchisedeck brought forth Bread and Wine*, Gen. xiv. 18. yet 'tis not said, that he offer'd *Bread and Wine*; much less that he offer'd them to God, (as the Papists fancy) it was to *Abraham* and his Company that this Present was made, to refresh them and regale them after the Fatigues of War. So that 'tis plainly hence seen that *Melchisedeck* offer'd no *Sacrifice*. And if he had, it affects not the present Cause: For from his Oblation of Bread and Wine, it is impossible to prove that Christ must be, and is really and personally offer'd every Day in the Mass, for the Expiation of the Sins of the World.

There is another Text, that Popish Writers quote, *Heb. xiii. 10. We have an Altar whereof they have no right to eat who serve the Tabernacle*. Whence they wou'd infer that under the Christian Dispensation there is a proper Altar and a Sacrifice, namely, that of the Mass. But it wou'd be loss of Time to confute this Inference, seeing the bare View of the Context will persuade us to understand these Words, concerning *Christ*, who was sacrificed on the Altar of the Cross, of the Benefits of whose meritorious Oblation none can be Partakers who adhere to the *Mosaic Rites* and the Ceremonial Worship enjoyn'd by the Law.

The *antient Writers* and *Fathers* of the Church are quoted to prove the Sacrifice of the Mass, because we frequently read in their Writings of a *Sacrifice and Oblations*, with reference to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and sometimes they make use of the *Texts before mention'd* to this Purpose. But the Answer to this is, 1st, that the *Sacrifice, Oblation, and Altar*, so often mention'd in the Antients Writings, refer either to the Offerings of Bread and Wine, in the primitive Ages brought by the Communicants, and laid on the Table, part of which Bread and Wine was for the *Eucharist*; or they refer to the other Things which were wont to be brought for the Maintenance of the Ministers of the Church. These

are usually call'd *Sacrifices* and *Offerings*, for the Proof of which it were easy to produce several Passages out of the *Fathers*; but the *common Reader* will not be much edified by this, and the *learned one* knows where to supply himself.

2dly, If in some Places, those forementioned Texts are made use of with Respect to the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, as is to be acknowledg'd, the Answer is to be fetch'd from what was said in the beginning of this Discourse, where I shew'd how the Sacrament may innocently and harmlessly be call'd a *Sacrifice* or *Offering*. I will not repeat the Particulars, but if the Reader will be pleas'd to look back, I doubt not but he will be well satisfied with what I have said. I do not deny that that forecited Place in *Malachi*, concerning the *pure Offering*, was by some of * the antient Fathers applied to the Lord's Supper, and very safely it might be done, because this Sacrament is an eminent Part of the Spiritual Worship, and is a *solemn Offering of Praise and Thanksgiving to God*, and a *Commemoration of Christ's sacrificing himself* on the Cross.

I know that there are some of the Church of *Rome* that seem to mitigate and soften the Doctrine concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass; they tell us that there is indeed but one Sacrifice of *Expiation* for Sin, viz. the Sacrifice on the Cross: But there are other Sacrifices of *Application*, and the Mass is the chief of these, for hereby that *Expiation* is applied to us: But this is a very idle Evasion, because the Council of *Trent*, and the chief Doctors of the *Roman* Communion, expressly affirm and maintain that this is *expiatory* for the Sins of the living and the Dead.

Others (and among them a late Writer of great Note) who would wheedle us into a good Opinion of the Mass, and reconcile us to other Doctrines of

* *Justin Martyr, Irenaus, Tertullian, Cyprian,*

the Church of *Rome*, speak after this rate, namely that the Sacrifice of the Mass is but a *Remembrance* of that one Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross: But this is a mere Blind, and any considering Person cannot but discern it to be so: For who can think that a *Roman Catholick* will renounce the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*? And yet he must do so, if he holds the Sacrifice of the Mass to be merely *commemorative*, for then he owns that Christ is not bodily present in the *Eucharist*, but only represented and called to mind by the help of the Elements: And he that holds this cannot assert that the Elements are turn'd into the real Body and Blood of Christ, and that these are substantially in the Sacrament, which is the true Notion of Transubstantiation.

I have now finish'd, after I have added these three short admonitory *Inferences* from the foregoing Discourse.

1st, Establish your selves in the Truth, in Opposition to the erroneous Sentiments of Papists, concerning the Oblation of Christ. Be fully persuaded of what our Church asserts, * *that the Offering of Christ once made is that perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for all the Sins of the whole World, both Original and Actual, and there is none other Satisfaction for Sin but that alone.*

2^{dly}, Abhor the impious and pernicious Doctrine, of the repeated Sacrifice and Satisfaction of Christ in the Mass. And here likewise we are directed by our Church, which hath told us, that † “ the Sacrifice of Masses, in that which it is commonly said “ that the Priests do offer Christ for the Quick and “ the Dead, to have Remission of Pain or Guilt, are “ blasphemous Fables and dangerous Deceits.” They are not only derogatory to the perfect Satisfaction of Christ, once made upon the Cross, but they are ab-

* Article the xxxi.

† Article the same.

are usually call'd *Sacrifices* and *Offerings*, for the Proof of which it were easy to produce several Passages out of the *Fathers*; but the *common Reader* will not be much edified by this, and the *learned one* knows where to supply himself.

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Others (and among them a late Writer of great Note) who would wheedle us into a good Opinion of the Mass, and reconcile us to other Doctrines of

* *Justin Martyr, Irenaus, Tertullian, Cyprian,*

the Church of *Rome*, speak after this rate, namely that the Sacrifice of the Mass is but a *Remembrance* of that one Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross: But this is a mere Blind, and any considering Person cannot but discern it to be so: For who can think that a *Roman Catholick* will renounce the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*? And yet he must do so, if he holds the Sacrifice of the Mass to be merely *commemorative*, for then he owns that Christ is not bodily present in the *Eucharist*, but only represented and called to mind by the help of the Elements: And he that holds this cannot assert that the Elements are turn'd into the real Body and Blood of Christ, and that these are substantially in the Sacrament, which is the true Notion of Transubstantiation.

I have now finish'd, after I have added these three short admonitory *Inferences* from the foregoing Discourse.

1st, Establish your selves in the Truth, in Opposition to the erroneous Sentiments of Papists, concerning the Oblation of Christ. Be fully persuaded of what our Church asserts, * *that the Offering of Christ once made is that perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for all the Sins of the whole World, both Original and Actual, and there is none other Satisfaction for Sin but that alone.*

2^{dly}, Abhor the impious and pernicious Doctrine, of the repeated Sacrifice and Satisfaction of Christ in the Mass. And here likewise we are directed by our Church, which hath told us, that † “the Sacrifice of Masses, in that which it is commonly said that the Priests do offer Christ for the Quick and the Dead, to have Remission of Pain or Guilt, are blasphemous Fables and dangerous Deceits.” They are not only derogatory to the perfect Satisfaction of Christ, once made upon the Cross, but they are ab-

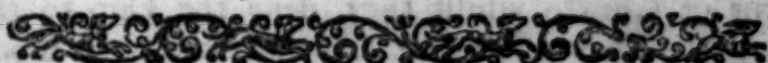
* Article the xxxi.

† Article the same.

horrent to human Nature, for Nature itself recoils at the Thoughts of that barbarous and inhuman Practice of eating Man's Flesh, and drinking Man's Blood, which yet all the Papists say they do, for they hold that the Sacrifice of the Mass is but a *repeating* of that on the Cross; whence we see how *inconsistently* some *Roman Catholicks* speak, when they deny it to be a *bloody Sacrifice*; yea, and they are more barbarous and cruel than the *Jews*, who crucified Christ *once*, but these profess and own, that they really and truly crucify, sacrifice, and offer him up *every Day* in a thousand Masses.

3dly, Be cautious of speaking or doing any thing which may seem to countenance and encourage this blasphemous and horrid Practice. To which Purpose I could wish that the setting up of *Altars*, and using the Title of *Priest*, were avoided by those of the Protestant Communion: For there is so near an Affinity between *these* and *Sacrifices*, that I fear there are many among us who are induced to think that Christ is offer'd in the Sacrament, because we make use of the Terms of *Priests* and *Altar*, which are inseparable from *Sacrificing*. Is it not better then to prevent such Mistakes and Misapprehensions, by laying aside those offensive Terms, and thereby letting the World see that we are not (as the *Papists*) for a *Sacrificing Priest*, or an *Altar of Sacrifice*, and that we verily believe, that Christ's Body and Blood are not here offer'd by a Priest to God for the Living and the Dead?





CHAP. V.

Of the Communion in one kind.

IN the two last Discourses we heard how the *Papists* deprave the Notion and Nature of the Sacrament, by holding that the Bread and Wine are turn'd into Christ's Body and Blood, and that Christ himself is daily offer'd in the Mass: But now I'm to shew, how they *maim this Sacrament*, and make it a Half-communion. See here how strangely these Men act, they first too highly and extravagantly extoll the Lord's Supper, and then as much depress it. They excessively magnify it by the Doctrine of Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass, and then they vilify one part of it by a little sorry *Wafer* (as if they meant to ridicule its being a *sealing Ordinance*) and the other part they wholly reject, that is, the *People* are debarr'd from laying a Claim to it. Which demonstrates that the Church of *Rome* can let nothing alone entire, and in its first Institution: They are for meddling and altering, they are for corrupting and perverting of every thing in Religion. They reckon more Sacraments than there are, but when they come to those that are the true Sacraments, they add and subtract as they please; the *Water* in Baptism must be attended with *Oyl* and *Spittle*, &c. and the *Wine* in the Eucharist must be quite taken away. They say (as we have heard before) that the last Will and Testament of Christ must be carefully observ'd, and his Words must be exactly taken Notice of: And yet now they contradict this, and they unworthily derogate

derogate and detract from the last Will and Testament of Christ, whilst they deny the Cup to the People. They assert that Christ's Body and Blood are present in the Sacrament, and yet the Blood must not be tender'd to the Laity, tho' the Body be.

The first thing I am to do, is to shew that they believe and practise thus. And this is undeniably evident not only from the Determination of the *Council of Constance*, which was call'd in the Year 1414, wherein the *Sacrament in one kind* was first defin'd and settled as a public Law, but from the more positive Declaration and Decision of the Council of *Trent*, which saith, that * "Tho' at the beginning
" of Christianity both kinds were receiv'd, yet that
" Custom being alter'd for good Reasons, the Church
" now approves of Communion in one kind, which
" Custom no Man can lawfully change, without the
" Church's Authority." In the same Session it is declar'd that the Laity (yea and the Clergy too who are present, and do not officiate) are not bound by any divine Command to receive the Eucharist under both kinds: The Words are these, † "Altho' our
" Lord Christ in his last Supper instituted this venerable Sacrament in both kinds, that is, of Bread
" and Wine, and so deliver'd it to the Apostles, yet
" the instituting and delivering of it in that manner
" do not tend to this, that all the faithful People
" of Christ are bound by the Precept of our Lord
" to receive both kinds." And a *Curse* is denounc'd against those that affirm the contrary. And it is the 18th Article of the Creed, establish'd by that Council, that *whole and entire Christ and a true Sacrament are receiv'd under one Species*. This is the Doctrine of the

* Sess. 21. † Et si Christus Dominus in ultimâ coena venerabile hoc Sacramentum in Panis & Vini Speciebus instituit & Apostolis tradidit, non tamen illa institutio & traditio ed tendunt, ut omnes Christi fideles Statuto Domini ad utramque Speciem accipiendam adstringuntur. Conc. Trid. Sess. 21. cap. 1.

Church. The contrary whereof we assert, namely, that it is not the true Sacrament, unless it be in both kinds, and consequently that administering the Sacrament in one kind only is unlawful, and (as the Consequent of that) that we are obliged to receive it in both kinds.

We shall find it most reasonable to assert and maintain this, if we consider these three things; to wit, that the Sacrament in both kinds is authoriz'd, *1st*, By Christ's Institution, and the Apostles Example. *2dly*, By the Testimony, Example, and Practice of the first and purer Churches of Christ. *3dly*, By the Nature of the thing itself.

First, I say, it is authorized by our Saviour's Institution and positive Command, *Matth. xxvii. 27. Drink ye all of this.* At the giving of the sacramental Bread the Word *all* is omitted; it is not said, *Eat ye all of this*, tho' that be included in the Commandment: But with Respect to the other Element our Saviour saith expressly, *Drink ye all of it*, that is, let every Person that is duly qualified, of what Rank soever, drink the Wine, as well as eat the Bread in this Sacrament which I have instituted. Whence we might justly infer, that Christ foreseeing the Corruption of the Church of *Rome*, and knowing particularly that they would deprave this Sacrament, and rob the People of the Cup, he speaks expressly and fully, and commands *all* to *drink* of it.

And the *Example of the Apostles* answers to Christ's Institution, as we learn from *1 Cor. xi. 23, &c.* Where *St. Paul* reduces the *Corinthians* to the first Institution, and all along supposes their communicating in *both kinds*. *As often*, saith he, *as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye do shew the Lord's Death, till he come, &c. 26.* He speaks promiscuously to them all, not making a Distinction between Laity and Clergy, as if the former might not drink of the Sacramental Wine, tho' the latter may: Nay indeed, this *Epistle* is directed to the *People*, not the Ministers
of

of the *Corinthian Church*, and therefore it is a plain Evidence against the *Papists*, who defraud the People of the Wine in the Eucharist. And *ſ. 27.* the Apostle adds, *Whoſoever ſhall eat this Bread, and drink this Cup of the Lord unworthily, ſhall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord.* That Term *who* or *whoſoever* is applied to the Perſons that are to *drink the Wine*, as well as to thoſe that are to *eat the Bread*; and it is plainly implied in theſe Words, that thoſe that eat the Bread may, yea muſt drink the Wine, and conſequently, that there is no Half-communion. 'Tis further added, *ſ. 28.* *Let a Man* (that is, every Man, *whoſoever* (as was ſaid before) intends to eat and drink of the Sacramental Bread and Wine) *examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat of that Bread, and drink of that Wine.* And in the next Verſe this *eating and drinking* are both expreſſly mention'd again, to let us know what was the Practice of the Apoſtles, in Conformity to their Lord's Inſtitution and peremptory Command.

And are not theſe to be a Rule to us to act by? Have we any Reason to vary from them? Was not the Command given us, that we ſhould obey it? Doth not the Injunction imply that the thing enjoyn'd is not indifferent and arbitrary? Doth it not become our Duty, when it is commanded, ſo that we are not left to our Liberty whether we will do it or no? This cannot be denied by any Man that underſtands the Nature of the divine Command. And yet it was poſitively decreed at the *Council of Conſtance*, with a *Non obſtante* (as they expreſſly ſay) to the Inſtitution of Chriſt, that the Sacrament ought to be adminiſtered in one kind only, whence *Luther* call'd it the * *Non-obſtantian Council*. And in the *Creed* of the *other Council* before mention'd, it is abſolutely impos'd as an Article of Chriſtian Faith, to believe that there is no Precept or Injunction obliging us to communicate in both kinds. It ſeems,

according to the *Roman* Divinity, Christ's Institution is not obligatory to Christians. Our Saviour orders one thing, and the Church of *Rome* another. Christ commands that *all* shall drink of the Eucharistical Wine, the *Papists* act contrary to this Command, as if they had Power to alter Christ's Institution, and to abrogate his Laws. But we have not so learn'd Christ; we think our selves bound to practise according to what is enjoyn'd us by our Lawgiver and Master, and (as the result of that) we are convinc'd that it is necessary that the Sacrament be administred to the People in both kinds.

Secondly, By the Testimony and Practice of the first and purer Churches of Christ, this is abetted and confirm'd. *Ignatius* is very plain in one of his Epistles, * *One Bread*, saith he, *is broken for all, and one Cup distributed to all. The People*, saith St. Chrysostom, *have as good a Right as the Minister to the Cup: There is no difference between the People and the Priest as to this*, † *one Body is offer'd to all, and one Cup*. And it were endless to rehearse the multitude of Passages in the Writings of the antient Fathers and primitive Doctors to this purpose. *Gelasius*, who was himself a Bishop of *Rome*, about *A. D.* 490. declares plainly for *both kinds*, and saith, the contrary favours of Superstition and Will-worship, yea, he tells us that || *the Division of one and the same Mystery (i. e. the abstracting of the Wine from the Bread in the Sacrament) cannot be without grievous Sacrilege*. We may find this inserted into the Body of the *Canon Law*, and it is a very re-

* Εἰς καὶ ἅπασι τοῖς πᾶσι ἐτέθη, καὶ ἐν πόσει τοῖς ὅλοις διανεμέσθαι. Epist. ad Philadelph.

† Πᾶσι ἐν σῶμα προέχεται, καὶ πόσει. Homil. 18. in 2 Ep. ad Corinth.

|| Divisio unius ejusdemque Mysterii sine grandi Sacrilegio non potest provenire. Gelas. Decret. 3. par. de Consecrat. Distinct. 2. Comperimus.

markable Testimony against the Practice of the Church of *Rome*, which allows of the *Canon Law*.

It is true, some few Instances in History may be produced of communicating in *one kind*: But this was not in the *purest* and *first Times* of Christianity, nor was it the *general* and *universally allow'd Practice*, which is the thing I speak of. There are always some Deviations from the Rule; and the Laws of Christ are not obey'd by every one. This is true more particularly in the matter now before us, there are some rare Examples of receiving in one kind. But this affects not the present Case, because it is most evident that the Celebration of the Eucharist in both kinds was the *receiv'd Usage* in the Church, yea, it was the universal Practice in the Church of *Rome*, for a thousand Years after Christ. This is expressly acknowledged by *Thomas Aquinas* about the middle of the thirteenth Century: And till his time the Sacrament used not to be deliver'd by halves in the *Latin Church*, saith a * learned Writer of that Communion, and he adds that this cannot possibly be denied. About 400 Years, and no more, † *Cassander* own'd that the Practice of Half-communion had been in the Church. And several ‡ other Popish Writers confess that the depriving of the People of the Cup is a *Novelty*, and was never heard of or practis'd in the first Ages of the Church. This is confirm'd from what had been suggested before, that the Communion in one kind was not receiv'd as a public Command of the Church till the *Council of Constance*, which was at the beginning of the 15th Century. And even then this Determination of that Council was so dislik'd that the *Bohemians* would not submit to it, but retain'd their old Practice: And the *Council of Basil*, which was held about sixteen Years after, granted the Cup to

* Vasquez. Disp. 3. cap. 216. n. 38. † De Communionem sub utraque Specie. ‡ Alphons. à Castro. tit. Eucharistia. hær. 13. Lincianus, Panopli. l. 4. cap. 56.

them, notwithstanding the former Council of *Constance* had declar'd for a contrary Usage. And it hath been already suggested, that the Council of *Trent* (which was after these two) acknowledges that the Primitive Church receiv'd in both Kinds. This is the thing that I now urge, we have the general Practice of the Primitive Times on our Side. In the first Ages of the Church, the Wine, as well as the Bread, was deliver'd to the People.

I'll only (before I pass to the next Head) take notice here of the Perverseness of our Adversaries: At other times they stand much upon this, that such a Practice was universally receiv'd; it can be prov'd (say they) that in the Primitive Ages of the Christian Church it was in use; therefore we must have a good Opinion of it, and by no Means refuse Conformity to it. But now this Arguing is laid aside, and tho' we contend for a Practice in the Church which is vouch'd and authoriz'd by Antiquity, and an universal Reception among Christians, yet we cannot be heard, our Plea is null and of no Effect with the *Romanists*. This shews how crossly and perversely they act, and how they baffle themselves with their own Practices. But this is not to be wonder'd at: for it is not to be expected, that those who neglect Christ's positive Precept and Command (as we have heard under the foregoing Particular) will value the Church's Practice, tho' never so antient.

Thirdly, what we maintain, may be prov'd from the Nature of the Thing itself. For let it be asked seriously, what are the *Parts* of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper? Doth it not evidently appear that there are these *two Parts*, the distributing and eating of the Bread, and the distributing and drinking of the Wine? Have we it not from the Mouth of him, who constituted and ordain'd the Sacrament, that there are these two distinct Parts or Members of it? And how then is there only one thing, *viz.* the Bread, to constitute the Substance of this Sacrament? This

certainly is unanswerable. And we cannot but conclude it to be so, if we consider that we know nothing of this Sacrament but from the Institution of it: we have no Ground of discoursing concerning it, but the bare Account which is given us of it in the New Testament; and there we are told that Bread and Wine are to be receiv'd in Commemoration of Christ's Body and Blood; not Bread alone, or Wine alone, but both Bread and Wine, because the one is design'd to represent the Body of Christ, and the other his Blood. This is the *Nature* of the *Sacrament*, and therefore if we expect a Blessing in the Use of this Holy Ordinance, we must celebrate it in that Manner which is prescrib'd us, and no other. If we be oblig'd to receive the Bread, we must also be Partakers of the Wine; for this latter belongs to the Sacrament, as much as the former, and unless both be receiv'd, there is no Sacrament. Thus the Nature of the thing itself convinces us of the Truth of what I have asserted. And thus we see what are the *Reasons* that induce us to oppose the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* concerning the Lawfulness of the Half-Communion.

Next I will let you see how they *argue for themselves*, how they *evade our Proofs*, and what *Objections* they bring against them. The main Argument they use is This, that whole Christ, by way of *Concomitance*, is exhibited under one Kind. For where Christ is, he is wholly and entirely: His Humanity and Divinity, his Body and Soul, and all Parts of the Body are together; therefore when the People take the Bread, they take also the Wine by Concomitancy: for the Blood is contain'd in the Body or Bread. Thus the Doctrine of *Concomitancy* solves the Business of *Half-Communion*. But I answer,

I. If it be so, then Christ needed not at all to have instituted and mention'd the *Wine*. This is an unnecessary and superfluous Addition, if the People receive the *Blood* together with the *Body*. Christ's Ap-
pointment

pointment was improper and impertinent, if the Wine be contain'd in the Bread. It was to no purpose to name the Wine, and make it one Part of the Sacrament, if the Bread alone will serve, as virtually containing the Wine in it.

II. Whilst the Papists defend the Doctrine of *Concomitancy*, they forget what was the *Design* of instituting this Sacrament, viz. to remember Christ's Shedding of his Blood for us. As the Apostle expresses it, *we shew forth the Lord's Death*, which was by *Effusion* of his precious Blood. Now, Christ's Death cannot be represented by one Kind alone, because the Bread represents only the Flesh or the Body void of Blood; wherefore the Wine is necessary to represent the Blood out of the Body, or the Blood shed forth of the Body. Thus the Design and Intention of the Eucharist make it requisite that both Bread and Wine should be receiv'd.

III. It is plain that this Doctrine of *Concomitancy* is a vain and false thing, because it is attended with very gross Absurdities. If the *Blood* be contain'd in the *Body* or *Bread*, and he that eats the one, drinks the other, then why doth the Popish Priest receive the Wine as well as the Bread? If there be a *Concomitance* when the *People* communicate, why is there not the same when the *Priest* communicates? Doth the Wine cease to be contain'd in the Bread when the latter partakes of the Sacrament, and is it again restor'd to the Bread, when the former partake of it? This must be asserted, if *Concomitance* be held; and yet at the same time the *Concomitance* is refuted: for who will believe that the *Concomitance* is just at that time when the *People* receive, and not when the *Priests* also receive? And this likewise must be held, that the *Priests* have a *double Drinking* in the Sacrament: for they drink Christ's Blood twice; once when they eat the Wafer, (because they maintain that the Blood goes along with the Body) and again when they take the Cup. And this also must be admitted,

that the Priest drinks that which just before he had eaten ; and hence it will follow, that the different Notions of Eating and Drinking are confounded. And many other such absurd Consequences are the Result of this Doctrine. I wonder that the Priests do not persuade the People that they drink when they only eat. By the Doctrine of *Concomitancy* it is easy to do it. Yea, they may be persuaded, that when the Priest drinks, then the People drink, tho' they do not know it. They that are for an *Implicit Faith*, may be for an *Implicit Eating or Drinking*.

IV. This Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* is a downright Opposition to Christ's Injunction, *Drink ye all of this*. From this it is manifest, that *Drinking* is one Manner of Receiving, and it is appointed by Christ, and therefore ought not to be omitted. But the Papists oppose this, and reject that Part of the Administration of the Sacrament which was expressly enjoin'd : and to render this plausible, *Concomitancy* was invented by their good Friend *Thomas Aquinas*, to solve this mutilating of the Sacrament. But I hope I have sufficiently convinc'd the Reader of the Vanity of this Invention.

Again, they say, that it is *inconvenient* and *unsafe*, now when the Church is increas'd, to deliver the Sacrament in *both Kinds*. The Wine, or (as they call it) the Blood of Christ is liable to be spilt in the delivering it, and *therefore* the Cup is denied to the People. This is a way of Arguing that is so trifling and foolish, that it is not worth taking notice of : for who was to judge of the *Conveniency* or *Safety* of Administring this Part of the Sacrament, but Christ the Author of it ? And we see that he expressly enjoin'd the giving the Wine as well as the Bread, and consequently it is *convenient* and *safe* to do it.

As for their *Evasions*, they are such as these ; when it is said, *Drink ye all of this*, it is spoken to the Pastors, not to the People : for the Sacrament was administered to the Apostles only at first ; and therefore only

only the Priests (who are represented by the Apostles) are to drink. But the Folly of this Pleading is very conspicuous : for if in these Words, *Drink ye all of this*, Christ spake to none but the Pastors, then in the *other* Words, *Take, eat*, he also speaks only to them : if so, where is the Command for the *People* to eat the Bread ? And besides, if the Sacrament was given to the *Apostles*, merely as they were such, it was to cease after their time, because *they* were the Persons that were only concern'd in it : but this is not granted by our Adversaries, and therefore they must acknowledge that the Administration both of the Bread and Wine was not instituted merely for the Apostles, but others ; that is, all Christian *Believers*. Under *this* Notion they took and eat the Bread, or else by what Right can any *Believers* since take and eat ? And if the Apostles took the Bread as they were Believers, then it is certain they drank the Wine, as they were such : and consequently all Believers are to be admitted to the Cup in the Eucharist. This must be granted, or they must be depriv'd of Taking and Eating. This is so obvious and plain, that I need not insist any farther on it. Wherefore I conclude that the Sacrament was instituted for the whole Church : for the Apostles were Representatives of the whole Church of Christ. They receiv'd not as *Clergymen* or *Pastors* (for perhaps they were not of that Order when they receiv'd :) but as *Believers* : and in that Capacity all Christians have a Right to drink of the Wine, as well as to eat of the Bread.

As for that Text, *This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in Remembrance of me*, 1 Cor. xi. 25. they shift it off thus, that these Words make it a *Conditional* Precept, not an *Absolute* one, to drink the Wine in the Sacrament. We are not bid to drink, but only it is said, *as oft as ye drink*. This is such a gross Evasion as one would think could never be made use of by any Men of Sense and Modesty : for in the Word

or *axis*, as oft, it is clearly implied that the Persons spoken unto are under an Obligation to participate *sometime or other* of the Wine in the Eucharist. And farther, if this be a *Conditional* Precept, then it will hold as well concerning the *Bread*; for the Apostle adds immediately, *as often as ye eat this Bread*. So that according to this Interpretation there is no absolute Command to eat the Sacramental Bread. Thus we see what becomes of their sorry Evasions: They confute and shame themselves by them.

But they persist in their Sophistry; and when we quote these Words, *Whosoever shall eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, &c.* (which are a plain Confutation of the Half-Communion) they tell us, that we do not rightly translate the Words; for in the *Greek* it is *η*, not *κα*, or, not *and*; and therefore the Words are to be render'd thus, [whosoever shall eat this Bread, *or* drink this Cup,] which intimates (say they) that the Sacrament may be receiv'd in one *or* both Kinds. To this I answer, the *Syriack* and *Arabick* Versions read it *and*, to let us know that *and* and *or* here are the same, and so they are in several other Places both of the Old and New Testament. There are Instances given in the former by several Writers, but I will appeal to the latter, the New Testament; because the Text now objected against is taken thence. Who sees not that *or* is the same with *and* in *Matt. v. 17. Think not that I come to destroy the Law, or the Prophets?* It is equivalent with the *Law and the Prophets*, as is evident from the Conjunction of these in *Matt. vii. 12. This is the Law and the Prophets*. And, in several other Texts, there is the same Conjunction of the *Law and the Prophets*; and the Word *and* is made use of to express it. It cannot be denied that *and* is to be understood by *or* in *Luk. xx. 2. Or who is he that gave thee this Authority?* and therefore in the Parallel Places in *Matt. xxi. 23. Mark xi. 28.* it is, *And who gave thee this Authority?* This is sufficient to shew, that even in the New Testament *or* is put for

for *and*, and therefore in the forecited Place we should so understand it. *Whoſoever ſhall eat this Bread, or drink this Cup of the Lord unworthily*, is the ſame with *whoſoever ſhall eat this Bread, and drink this Cup of the Lord unworthily*. And indeed there is a Neceſſity of interpreting it ſo, becauſe *the eating the Bread, and drinking the Wine are join'd together* by the Apoſtle in ſeveral Places in that very Chapter : which ſhews that the Particle *or*, which he uſes in the fore-named Text, doth not *diſjoin* the Cup from the Bread, or intimate in the leaſt that the Bread is to be receiv'd without the Wine : for this would be wholly inconſiſtent with his *joining them together*, and calling upon the *Corinthians* to partake *both* of the *Bread* and of the *Wine*.

We have ſeen how they *Evade* ; let us next hear how they *Object*. An uſual *Objection* againſt our Doctrine, and to confirm their own, is made from *Acts. ii. 42, 46. xx. 17.* where the Lord's Supper is expreſs'd by *breaking of Bread only* : which (ſay they) ſignifies that the Primitive Chriſtians receiv'd the Sacrament in *one Kind* only. I know ſome Proteſtant Writers think they return a good Answer to the Objection, when they deny that theſe Places are ſpoken concerning the *Lord's Supper*, and affirm that they are meant of the breaking of Bread at *ordinary Meals*. But I muſt crave leave to diſſent from them in this ; for if we take notice of the *Circumſtances* of thoſe Texts, we ſhall *not* eaſily be perſuaded, that no other breaking of Bread is meant there than that at their uſual Repaſt. Wherefore the plain and true Answer to the *Objection* is this, that the Lord's Supper hath its Denomination here from *one Part* of it, which is an uſual way of Speaking, not only in the Bible, but in all other Authors, and therefore it can't ſeem ſtrange to us. In a hundred Places in the Old Teſtament, and in ſome in the New, *Bread* neceſſarily includes in it *Drink*, unleſs you would advance this Paradox, that they did eat heretofore at their Feaſts and Meals, but never drank a Drop. And why then ſhould it

startle us that the *like Manner of Speaking* is us'd concerning the Sacred Feast of the Lord's Supper? For tho' a Part of this Sacrament is not to be receiv'd by us instead of the whole (because it is against Christ's positive Institution) yet when this Sacrament is spoken of, it may be express'd by a *Synechdoche*, i. e. putting the Part for a whole. As the whole ordinary Meal or Repast is frequently call'd *eating of Bread* in Scripture, so we are not to wonder that the whole Lord's Supper is stil'd *Breaking of Bread*. And this doth not in the least imply a Half-Communion, because tho' one Element be express'd, yet it excludes not the other.

Thus I have briefly consider'd what is alledg'd by the Popish Writers in Defence of their Doctrine, and what their Cavils are against Ours. Upon the whole, I appeal to sober Minds, whether it is fitting that the vain Wit and fond Arguings of Men should disannul the last Will and Testament of our Blessed Saviour. For whereas there is an *express Command* for communicating in both Species, they most unreasonably and saucily violate that Command and Institution, and so make the Law of Christ of none Effect. And because they have nothing that is solid to oppose against an express Command, they fly to Sophistry and Shifts and Evasions, and say nothing to the Purpose, rather than not say something. But I demand of all understanding and thinking Persons, whether these shallow Arguings and Cavillings be not a great Demonstration of the Weakness of their Cause, and whether we have not Reason from thence to adhere to the Doctrine we have so fully evinc'd?

I will shut up all with these short *Inferences*,

First, See the bold and blasphemous Humour of the *Romanists*. Tho' Christ expressly commands the receiving of the Sacrament in both Kinds, yet the Half-Communion is decreed with a *Non-obstante* to it. The Divine Command is slighted and trampled upon, and Christ's Institution is contradicted.

Secondly,

Secondly, Be perswaded of the Reasonableness and Truth of the contrary Doctrine; and to that purpose recollect the Heads of the foregoing Discourse; and then fix yourselves with the thirtieth Article of our Church, *The Cup* (saith she) *of the Lord is not to be denied to the Lay-people: for both the Parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's Ordinance and Commandment, ought to be ministred to all Christian Men alike.*

Thirdly, Be thankful that you have the Privilege to partake of the Sacrament in *both Kinds*, in that way of Christ's own Ordaining. And

Lastly, Whilst you decry the Doctrine and Practice of the Papists, be not guilty of what is as bad; whilst they deny the Cup to the Laity, do not you debar yourselves of both Bread and Wine. Whilst the *Roman* Priests rob the People of Part of the Lord's Supper, do not you deprive your selves of the whole. Frequent the Holy Table, as you have Opportunity, but be sure to do it with a becoming Reverence, and take care to fit and prepare yourselves for that Evangelical Feast: otherwise it will prove very dangerous to you.



CHAP. VI.

Of PURGATORY and Satisfaction.



Another great Point of Popery is the Doctrine of *Purgatory*, which is said to be that Place where the Souls of those who depart hence with the Guilt of Venial Sins upon them, are punish'd and tormented till they have satisfied for their Sins. Even the Faithful, whose Sins are all pardon'd, must undergo this Punishment: for

not being fully purg'd from Sin in this Life, it is necessary that after Death they should be cleans'd and purg'd from the Reliques of all Sin. None need question whether this be held by the *Church of Rome*: for they all openly own it, and by their *Prayers for the Dead*, and *Indulgences*, and other Practices, they prove that they verily believe this Doctrine. This was set up as an Article of Faith by the *Florentine Council* about 1439. And the nineteenth Article of the Creed establish'd by the *Tridentine Council* is this, *I do stedfastly believe that there is a Purgatory, and that the Souls therein detain'd are help'd by the Prayers of the Faithful*. And again, in the twenty fifth Session, 'tis asserted that those that are in *Purgatory* may be deliver'd thence by the *Suffrages of the Faithful that are alive*, i. e. by Prayers, Alms, Oblations, Masses, &c. From the great Oracle of the *Roman Church* we are told, that * *Purgatory is a Place, wherein, as in a Prison, those Souls are purged after this Life, which were not fully purg'd here, to the Intent that they may enter Pure into Heaven*. And all the *Roman Doctors* agree, that those that have not in this Life by Works of Penance, or by Indulgences, satisfied for their Sins, must do it in *Purgatory*. But withal they tell us, that *Purgatory* is for Expiating of *Venial Sins*, such as should have been expiated in this Life by Confessions and Penance, and beating their Breasts, &c. These are punish'd with the Fire of *Purgatory*, but *Mortal Sins* send Men to *Hell*. And they tell us farther, that tho' a Man after the Commission of *Mortal Sins* repents heartily of them, and God forgiveth him, yet there is a Temporal Punishment which he must undergo for his Sin, and for this he must make Satisfaction in *Purgatory*, by suffering the Pains of that Place. This is the receiv'd Doctrine of the *Romanists*, but we deny the whole Frame of this Hypothesis, and we look on it as a fanciful Invention, a frau-

* Bellarm. l. 2. de Purgator. cap. 6.

dulent Contrivance to affright poor Souls, and to bring in Advantage to the Priests. That this is a false and groundless Doctrine, I shall prove from these following Particulars.

First, If there were any such thing as *Purgatory*, we should find it plainly set forth and reveal'd in *Scripture*. We should see it in those Writings, and be acquainted with it, it being of so great Weight and Importance to be rightly instructed in this Matter. But no Middle Place is mention'd in any Part of the Old or New Testament. We read but of two States of Men after this Life, and no more. *Saving and Damning* comprehend all, *Matt. xvi. 16. He that believeth and is baptised, shall be saved: but he that believeth not shall be damned.* There is no *Mean* between these two. There are but two Ranks of Persons, those that shall go into *Everlasting Punishment*, and those that shall go into *Life Eternal*, *Matt. xxv. 46.* And the Old Testament (as well as the New) represents the State of the Dead as irreverfible and unchangeable, *In the Place where the Tree falleth, there it shall be, Ecclef. xi. 3.* What Persons are at their Death, that they shall be at the last Day, and ever after. *There is no Work, nor Device, nor Knowledge, nor Wisdom in the Grave, whither thou goest, Ecclef. ix. 10.* The whole Business, that respects Man's Salvation, is ended and finish'd in this Life. *This is the State of Tryal, that other of Recompences.* Wherefore we must needs look upon it as a mere Fiction of the Papists, that the infernal Region is divided into **four Cells*; the lowest whereof is *Hell*; the next is *Purgatory*; above that is *Limbus Infantium*, where those Children are that died without Baptism; and above all these is *Limbus Patrum*, where the Souls of the Pious before Christ's Ascension were, for 'till then they went not to Heaven: This Place therefore hath stood empty ever since.

* Bellarm. de Purg. lib. 2. cap. 6.

But we are taught by the *Holy Scriptures*, that there are but *two Places only* that are Receptacles of departed Souls, namely, *Heaven* and *Hell*. All Persons that leave this World go to one of these Places. Wherefore it is fond and idle to assert that there is such a State as *Purgatory*, in which the Souls of the Just, which in this Life were not fully purg'd, there undergo a perfect and complete Purgation. Most certainly some of the *Prophets* and *Apostles* would have spoken of this third State of Souls in another World, if there had been any such thing, especially if it were (as the *Roman Guides* determine) an *Article of Faith*, necessary to be believ'd by all Men.

Secondly, the Scripture doth not only no where assert this Doctrine, but in many Places it opposes and contradicts it, as in *Luk. xxiii. 43. To Day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*; As much as to say, immediately after thy Death thy Soul shall be translated to a State of Blessedness, that State which the separate Souls of the Faithful enjoy in Heaven. If there had been a *Purgatory*, our Saviour should have spoken thus to the Converted Thief, Some Years hence thou shalt be advanc'd to Paradise, and there enjoy me in my Kingdom, as thou desirest: but at present that Privilege, that Blessing, that great Honour cannot be granted thee, because thou must first descend into the subterraneous Fires that are prepared for all Men, and where they must be thoroughly purg'd before they can reach the Cœlestial Mansions. But we see that our Saviour's plain way of speaking, and his assuring this Convert of immediate Blessedness after the Separation of his Soul from his Body, is a direct Confutation of such idle Dreams and Chimæras. *To Day*, saith he, thou shalt be with me in the State of Happiness, for pious Souls, as soon as they quit their Bodies, are taken up to Heaven. This is clear from those other Texts, *John xii. 26. Where I am, there also shall my Servant be.* Ch. xiv. 3. *I will receive you unto my self, that where I am, there ye may be also, to partake with me*

me of my Glory and Happiness. Ch. xvii. 24. *Father, I will that they also, whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am, that they may behold my Glory which thou hast given me.* These Promises are not fulfill'd, if the Souls of the Faithful go not forthwith to Heaven, but take Purgatory in their Way to it : for who can imagine, that when Christ plainly tells his Apostles and Followers, that *he would receive them to himself, and that where he is, they shall be* ; and repeats this once and again, and explains their *being there where he is* ; by their *beholding his Glory which his Father had given him*, namely in Heaven ; who, I say, can imagine that Christ's Meaning is, that the Apostles must first lie *many Years*, some hundreds of Years, in the Flames of *Purgatory* (for there were none in those Days that had the Skill to redeem them thence by Masses and Suffrages) before his Words should be accomplish'd ? If any Man can suppose and imagine this, he ought to be scored up for one of a prodigious strong Fancy.

And what think we of St. Paul's Words in 2 Cor. v. 6, 7, 8 ? We are always *confident* (that is, we can with Confidence and Courage encounter all Dangers, and undergo any Sufferings, and look Death itself in the Face) *knowing that whilst we are at Home in the Body, we are absent from the Lord.* (For we walk by Faith and not by Sight.) *We are confident, I say, and willing rather to be absent from the Body, and to be present with the Lord.* Here the Apostle calls the Life of a Godly Man *a being absent from the Lord, and walking by Faith only*, a believing a future State : but Death is stiled by him *a being present with the Lord, and walking by Sight*, that is, in the present and full Enjoyment of that happy State : and the Consideration of this *being present with God*, as soon as he leaves the Body, inspires him with *Christian Confidence*, such as enables him to undertake or suffer any thing in the Defence of the Christian Cause. What then becomes of the Notion of *Purgatory* ? If the Saints
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immediately after they depart this Life are with Christ, and *present with him*, and live no longer *by Faith*, but *by Sight*, that is, enjoy the Beatifical Vision of God, how can it enter into any Mans Thoughts that they are tormented in Flames as soon as they leave this World, and are for many Years, it may be, many Generations, *absent from the Lord*, and from all Bliss and Happiness? If any Man can digest this, there is nothing too hard for him to believe; and you may offer the greatest Contradictions to him, and expect his free Assent to them.

When the Apostle saith, *he hath a Desire to depart, and to be with Christ*, Phil. i. 23. it is plainly implied that he was to be happy *presently*: for no Man can be *with Christ* after Death, but he must enter into that *Happiness*. This the Apostle firmly hoped for as soon as he was departed: for there is here an immediate Connection betwixt *departing* and *being with Christ*. But if you believe a Purgatory, how will you reconcile the Apostle's *being there* and *being with Christ*, especially when he adds that this *being with Christ* is *far better* than being in the Body? You cannot but grant that it is far better being in the Body, than in the Fire of Purgatory; for the Popish Doctors tell us, that the Pains of Purgatory are equal to those of Hell, only they are not so lasting: therefore they say, that Purgatory is a Temporary Hell. If this be true, you must yield that St. Paul's *Desire* or *Wish to depart* was very extravagant: for he did as good as wish, that he might be under the most exquisite Torments, and at the same time he own'd, that this was *far better* than to be free from them, and (which is the most absurd of all) he lets us know, that to be under these Torments is to *be with Christ*. Let the Papists impose such ridiculous Notions as these on themselves and their Friends; we Protestants desire to be excused and exempted from such unreasonable Impositions.

Those Words of the Apostle in 1 *Thess.* iv. 17. *Then (i. e. at the General Resurrection) we which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the Clouds, to meet the Lord in the Air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord,* are a great Baffle to the Doctrine of Purgatory: for here we see, that the Righteous, who remain alive at the Coming of Christ, shall be taken up into the Air, and then into Heaven, (which is signified by *being ever with the Lord*) and that without any Torments intervening. And I ask why should they that die before the last Day be sent to the Torments of Purgatory more than those that live 'till then?

The last Text I shall produce is *Rev.* xiv. 13. *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their Labours.* Where the Word ἀπαύρι, *from henceforth*, signifies that the Righteous, as soon as they leave this World, are taken to a better Life, and not sent to Purgatory. I know some refer *from henceforth* to the Calamities and Sufferings which the Righteous at that time were obnoxious to; as much as to say, *Blessed are the Dead*, that die now in God's Favour; for thereby they are lodg'd safe in the Grave, and not subject to the Persecutions under Antichrist. They are happiest that die soonest: so some interpret *from henceforth*. And if we take the Words in this Sense, they are a clear Proof against the Purgatory-Flames: For these certainly (as the Popish Writers describe them) are much more grievous than any *Persecutions* and *Sufferings* here upon Earth. And therefore they can't be pronounced *Blessed*, who avoid these by Death, and then pass immediately into the unspeakable Torments of Purgatory. But it seems most natural and proper to refer *from henceforth* to the Word *Blessed*, and so it denotes to us, that those who die in the Lord are immediately received into Heaven, and are there Blessed.

Or, if you will refer *from henceforth* to the next Clause, as if the Words ran thus, *from henceforth they rest from their Labours*, it still confirms the same Truth, that the Righteous presently after Death enter into Happiness. Nay, if that Expression *from henceforth* were left out and wholly omitted, yet those very Words, *Blessed are the Dead that die in the Lord, that they may rest from their Labours*, sufficiently prove that those that die in the Lord are not tormented in Purgatory; for this is utterly inconsistent with *being blessed*, and with *resting from their Labours*. I take this Text then to be a solid Argument and a valid Testimony against Purgatory, especially if we take in the Adverb *ἀπ'αὐτοῦ*, *from henceforth*, or *from this Instant*: For then it is more abundantly declared by the Spirit here, that the Souls of the Faithful are in Joy and Felicity, *as soon* as they are delivered out of this World; therefore 'tis impossible they should be in Purgatory.

Thirdly, I will confute the *Doctrine of Purgatory* by Confutation of another, on which it is grounded, and that is the *Doctrine of Satisfaction*. We must know then, that the Foundation of Purgatory is laid in this, that Offenders after Baptism must make *Satisfaction* to God for their Sins since that time committed, by undergoing temporal Punishment either in this World or the next. It is acknowledged by the Council of *Trent*, that Christ himself hath satisfied by his Sufferings for all Sin and Guilt committed and contracted *before Baptism*, and hath taken away all Obligation to Punishment, whether eternal or temporal: But the Fathers of that Council insist on this, * that tho' the *eternal* Punishment of those that sin *after Baptism*, be satisfied for by Christ's Sufferings, yet he hath not freed them from *temporal* Punishment; but this they must bear themselves either here or hereafter. This is the *Doctrine of the Roman*

* Conc. Trid. Sess. 6. cap. 14. de Justificat.

Church, which is repeated in another of their Canons, * *When a Man's Sins, (say they) are forgiven him, and he is justified, there yet remains an Obligation to the Payment of temporal Punishment, either in this World, or in the World to come, in Purgatory.* Accordingly the Priest enjoins the Penitents such and such Punishments, viz. † Prayers, Pilgrimages, Fasts, and other religious Exercises; and by these *Satisfaction is made to the Justice of God.*

Or else Bodily and Temporal Calamities, as Poverty, Sickness, Pain, &c. are inflicted on Persons, that by suffering of these they may *satisfy* God for their Sins. For this is a receiv'd Maxim in the Church of *Rome*, that when the Sins of true Penitents are forgiven, there yet remain Temporal Punishments and Crosses to be undergone. To which Purpose such Instances as these are produc'd by the Popish Writers, *Numb. xiv. 20. 33.* the *Israelites* that murmur'd were forgiven by God, yet they suffer'd Punishment in the Wilderness, viz. Death. *2 Sam. xii. 13, 14.* *David's* Sin of Adultery was pardon'd, but the Temporal Punishment was not remitted; he was afflicted with the Death of his Child, *2 Sam. xxiv. 10, &c.* *David's* Sin of numbring the People was forgiven by God, but he was punish'd with the Pestilence. *1 Cor. xi. 30.* *For this Cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep.* From which Places they conclude, that tho' the Sins are remitted by God, yet the Sinners must *satisfy* for them by enduring Calamities in this Life.

But then, as for those who have not sufficiently been punish'd by voluntarily undertaking some Exercises of Severity, or have not been visited with Pain, Losses, Diseases, and the Calamities of this Life, these Persons must undergo a Temporal Punishment in the World to come; and this is that which they call *the Pains of Purgatory*: and a Man can't be released from these Miseries 'till the Punishment be fully accom-

* *Seff. 6. can. 30.*† *Seff. 6. cap. 14,*

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plish'd. It is not enough that Christ hath satisfied ; nor is it enough that the Sinners themselves have satisfied in this World : but they must also suffer Punishment in way of Satisfaction in another Place, after this Life is ended. *Purgatory* then is for the Souls of those whose eternal Punishment is quite satisfied for by Christ, whose Sins are forgiven, who are in the Favour of God, and who have in Part suffer'd for their Sins in this Life : but a complete Temporal Punishment is yet behind. This is the profess'd Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, and I have set it down at large, because the Reader might have a full Account of the *Ground* and *Basis* on which the Church of *Rome* builds the Doctrine of *Purgatory*. And now I will briefly demonstrate that this Basis is unsound, and consequently that what is built upon it must needs fall.

1st. It is a wild Notion, and a strange way of speaking, to call *Prayer* and *Alms*, and the like Acts of *Devotion*, *Punishments*. We are taught that the Service of God is our perfect Freedom, that Acts of Religion are to be accounted our Pleasure and Delight, that Exercises of Christianity are our Reward, as well as our Duty. But the *Roman* Doctors, without any Shew of Reason, talk otherwise, and tell us that the most devout and religious Performances are *Penalties* and *Torments*.

2^{dly}, Tho' we should suppose these religious Exercises to be Punishments, yet it is falsly said, that they *can satisfy* for our Sins. Of which there is a plain Demonstration : for if there had been a Possibility of satisfying the Divine Justice by our own Doings, there had been no need of another's satisfying for us. But we are assur'd that another hath undertaken and accomplish'd this Work, and therefore we may certainly infer that it is not in our Power to do it : We cannot by any thing that we can do, or suffer, atone for the least Offence, either here or hereafter. And we know what is the Consequence of this, if there be

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no *Satisfaction* to be made by any Man, then there is no *Purgatory*, for this is built upon that. 3^{dly}, As to those *Instances* of Temporal or Bodily Afflictions on the murmuring *Israelites*, on *David*, and on the *Corinthian Christians*, it is certain that they were not *Punishments* properly so call'd; that is, they were not inflicted in way of Revenge, and for the Parties Hurt. These were all *Chastisements* for their Good; and therefore they did not satisfy God's Justice by undergoing these Temporal Afflictions and Calamities: for they can't be undergone in way of *Satisfaction*, unless they were inflicted by God as a *Revenge*. We are inform'd by the Christian Institution, that Christ hath fully satisfied for the Sins of the Elect, and consequently the Afflictions of this Life are no longer *Punishments in the strictest and proper Sense*, but Corrections and fatherly Admonitions. Those fore-mention'd Instances then, which the Popish Writers produce, are nothing to the Purpose of *Purgatory*: for we can't argue from the Afflictions in this Life to those in another. There is no Consequence in this at all: for the Afflictions of this Life are of a *different* Nature from those that are in the *Life to come*. The former are for the Trial and Increase of our Graces, and for Warning and Example to others in the Land of the Living: but this cannot be said of the latter, that is, the Pains of *Purgatory*, when the Scene of this Life is ended, and the Probatory State is over, and another State is introduc'd. 4^{thly}, It is absolutely inconsistent with the Notion of *Pardon of Sins*, that they should be remitted in this Life, and yet a Punishment should be undergone for them in another. It is abundantly declar'd in the Sacred and Infallible Writings, that the *Remission of Sins* contains in it the taking away the Obligation to Punishment. He, whose Sins are forgiven, is no longer *Guilty*, and therefore is no longer *obnoxious to Punishment*. It is contradictory then to say that God pardons those, of whom he exacts the Punishment of

Sin, purely to satisfy Justice. For it is even suppos'd and implied in the Nature of the Pardon of Sin that God's Justice is satisfied: for otherwise there could be no Pardon.

5thly, Then, Christ hath already *fully satisfied* for the Sins of all that shall be saved: therefore there is no *future Satisfaction* to be made by them, and consequently there is no *Purgatory*. There will be no need of satisfying the Debt of temporal Punishment, when the Debt is entirely forgiven by the meritorious Satisfaction of Christ Jesus the Redeemer. It can't be suppos'd, that the Payment of any Part of it will be requir'd, when the whole is discharg'd. If we hold Christ's Satisfaction, we must renounce Purgatory, which is the Place to which, the Papists say, the Souls of those Men go, who did not fully satisfy for their Sins in this Life. But seeing there is no such Satisfaction, there is no such Place as Purgatory.

Fourthly and lastly, I argue against Purgatory from the *Unreasonableness* of what the Church of *Rome* requires us to believe concerning the *Satisfaction* held by them. They tell us, that *Great* and *Mortal Sins* (as they call them) are remitted and satisfied for by Christ, but *Lesser* and *Venial* ones must be satisfied for by us in another World. Such wild Conceits, such fantastick Dreams do these Men put upon us, and demand our Compliance with them. But can we imagine, that God, who pardons the greater Crimes, cannot, or will not pardon the lesser? Can we think that he will keep good Men in the Prison of Purgatory, and there torment them for the Guilt of these latter, when the former ones, which are of a more heinous Nature, are wholly expiated for? None will ever assent to this kind of *Half-Satisfaction*, but those that are for a *Half-Communion*. These Men are impolitick in their Errors; they do not shape their Opinions with sufficient Probability. But I need not insist any longer on this, the Case is so plain.

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These are the *Reasons* and *Arguments* against the Doctrine of *Purgatory*; and if any Man seriously weighs them, I doubt not but he will own the Strength and Validity of them. Now in the next Place let us attend to the *Pleas* that are made for that Doctrine, and let us attend to the *Objections* against the Truth that I have maintain'd. They argue first from *Scripture*, and then from *Authority* and *Antiquity*. Let us hearken to their Allegations of the former Sort; and the first is grounded on *Matt. v. 26. Thou shalt by no means come out thence, 'till thou hast paid the uttermost Farthing.* The *Prison*, which is mention'd in the foregoing Verse, is *Purgatory*, say the Pontificians, and there is no coming out thence without Satisfaction, or paying the uttermost Farthing; which necessarily implies that those in the *Prison* of *Purgatory* may make Satisfaction, and pay the uttermost Farthing, and so come out thence. To which I answer,

I. It hath been prov'd before that there can be no Satisfaction made by us for our Sins, either in this Life, or in that which is to come, and therefore this Text cannot be interpreted concerning the discharging of the Debt of Sin in the Fire of *Purgatory*, which the Papists dream of.

II. If these Words of our Saviour be meant concerning a future *Prison*, into which Sinners shall be cast at their Death, it is to be applied to the *Prison* of *Hell*, for there is no other: and when it is said that there is no coming out thence, 'till the Prisoners have paid the uttermost Farthing, the Meaning is, that they shall never be able to pay the uttermost Farthing, and therefore they shall never come out thence. For 'till here signifies never, as it doth in many other Places of Scripture, as I have shew'd in my *Discourse of the Eternity of Hell-torments*, in my *Theologia Reformata*. Our Saviour seems to speak here in a sarcastical and upbraiding Way, when he tells the Person that he shall not come out 'till he hath paid, &c. letting him know by this Manner of Speech, that the paying of

the utmost Farthing is *impossible*, and thence he may, if he hath any Sense, gather that it is impossible to come out. It is impossible by our Sufferings, tho' of never so long Duration, to satisfy the infinite Justice of God. Thus this Text makes nothing for Purgatory.

And it is certain it doth not, if III. we understand (as some do) the Words to be no other than our Saviour's wise and prudent *Counsel* to those who have run themselves in Debt, or by some other way are become obnoxious to their Neighbours, and therefore may justly fear and expect the Penalty which the Law inflicts in such Cases, as particularly *Imprisonment*. Such are advis'd here to be reconcil'd to the injur'd Party as soon as they can, to make that Satisfaction which the Law requires: for otherwise they may expect that their Adversary will be severe upon them, and exact the very last Farthing of them. This may be the primary and plainest Meaning of those Words of our Saviour, *Agree with thine Adversary quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him, lest at any time the Adversary deliver thee to the Judge, and the Judge deliver thee to the Officer, and thou be cast into Prison. Verily, I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, 'till thou hast paid the uttermost Farthing.* The Words are a friendly Exhortation to a timely Reconciliation, together with a plain Discovery of the Danger of the contrary Practice. And now, if any Man can prove the Doctrine of *Purgatory* from hence, he hath a Knack of proving which no other Man in the World hath.

Another Text much made use of by the Patrons of Purgatory is *Matt. xii. 32.* where our Saviour speaking of the Sin against the Holy Ghost saith, *it shall not be forgiven neither in this World, neither in the World to come.* Whence they draw this Inference, that some Sins (tho' that against the Holy Ghost be not of that Number) shall be forgiven in the World to come, that is, say they, in Purgatory. To which several things may be replied, as First,

First, It hath been thought by some Learned Men, that our Blessed Lord here confutes a common and receiv'd Error and false Notion among the *Jews*, viz. that some of their Sins were pardon'd after this Life, as we may see in *Macc. ii. 12, 13, &c.* Our Saviour quashes this fond Opinion by what he saith here.

Or, Secondly, we may grant that in a qualified Sense there will be a Forgiveness of Sins after this Life, namely, at the Day of Judgment: for so we are expressly told, *Act. iii. 19. that your Sins may be blotted out, when the Times of refreshing shall come from the Presence of the Lord.* But this blotting out or forgiving of Sins is only a publick Declaration and Manifestation of what had been done before in this Life. All righteous Persons have Pardon of Sin pass'd here, but hereafter they shall be solemnly, openly, and publickly pronounc'd by Christ to be pardon'd. But what is this to Purgatory?

Thirdly, That this Text hath no relation to any such thing is evident from *Mark iii. 29. He, that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, hath never Forgiveness, but is in danger of Eternal Damnation.* Which expounds the other way of speaking, *He shall not be forgiven in this World, nor in the World to come,* that is, he shall never be forgiven; one Evangelist explains the other.

Nay Fourthly, there is more intended in these Evangelists than is express'd: for so it is very often in the Negative way of expressing things in Scripture. *The Lord will not hold him guiltless, Exod. xx. 7.* that is, he will severely punish him. *The Father of a Fool hath no Joy, Prov. xvii. 21.* that is, he grieves and laments much. Such a manner of Speaking is this, *He shall never be forgiven, i. e. He shall be punish'd for ever: he shall not be forgiven in this World, nor in that to come, i. e. he shall be punish'd in both Worlds, in this Life and in the future one; He shall be cursed by God now, and he shall be under an everlasting Curse hereafter (for that is signified in his being never forgiven)*

given) which cannot possibly be applied to the Pains of Purgatory, for the Papists hold them to be only *Temporary*. This, I think, is sufficient to shew that the Church of *Rome* gains nothing by this Text.

Nor doth that other, which they so often make use of, favour their Cause, 1 Cor. iii. 15. *He himself shall be saved, yet so as by Fire*. That the Fire of Purgatory is not here meant, but another Fire mention'd before in this Chapter, I have shew'd at large in a particular *Exercitation*, which I refer the Reader to, to avoid Repetition here.

And because they catch at all Places, and make not only Fire but Water serviceable to the Doctrine of Purgatory, they alledge 1 Cor. xv. 29. *Else what shall they do, that are baptiz'd for the dead? &c.* But for full Satisfaction about that Text, I remit the Reader to another *Discourse* (in my *Enquiry into several remarkable Texts of Scripture*) which amply treats of these Words. And so likewise I desire him to consult what I have publish'd on 1 Pet. iii. 19. *He went and preach'd unto the Spirits in Prison*: for I have endeavour'd to set that Text in a true Light, and to assign the true and obvious Meaning of it, which will convince any unprejudic'd Person that no such thing as Purgatory was thought of in that Place.

But not only the Writings of the Evangelists and Apostles, but of the *Antient Fathers* in the Primitive Times are alledg'd for this Doctrine. It is true, we deny not that some of the Corruptions in the Church of *Rome* began betimes, yea, this is the thing that we have proved in the *Introduction* to these Discourses: but it will be impossible to prove that this was one of them that had a *very early* Date. It is true likewise, that among the Fathers of the Church *Origen* was the first that held a Purging of separate Souls by Fire: but his holding it is no small Disparagement of it: for 'tis well known that that Writer (tho' a very learned and acute Man, yet) fills his Books with groundless and fanciful Opinions, and such as wise and sober Men have

have unanimously condemned. And as to this particular Opinion of his, which I have mention'd, it doth the Papists no Service at all, because the *Origenian Purgatory* widely differs from the *Pontifician* one, namely, first as to the *Persons*; for according to the *Romanists* those only are purged with Fire, whose Souls go hence with the Guilt of some Venial Sin, but otherwise depart hence in God's Favour: but according to *Origen* and the Purgatorians before *St. Austin*, all Mortals (Christ only excepted) undergo this Fire Ordeal. Secondly, as to the *Time*; for the Doctors of the Church of *Rome* hold, that the Souls of Men immediately on their going hence enter into the Purging Fire: but the *Origenists* and others of the Antients say, that this Purging doth not commence 'till the last Conflagration, at the End of the World. Thirdly, the Pontificians hold that the Pains of Purgatory may be mitigated, or taken away by the Prayers and Oblations of the Living, but *Origen* said no such thing. The Purgatory therefore that the Church of *Rome* asserts is not the same with that of *Origen*, and consequently they have no Reason to quote him on their Side.

Or if the *Origenian* and *Roman Purgatory* were the same, yet this brings but little Repute to their Cause, if we consider the Rise of *Origen's Purgatory*. It must be granted that the *Gentiles* introduc'd it: the Pagan Philosophers and Poets did first present it to the World. It is plain, that it was taken from **Plato* and others of the *Platonick Sect* that succeeded, and particularly from †*Kirgil* and †*Macrobius*. They held that Departed Souls must undergo diverse Purgations and Trials after this Life, before they reach to Happiness.

And it is not much for the Credit of those who assert Purgatory, that the *Simonians*, *Menandrians*,

* In *Gorgia*, in *Phaedone*, in *Phaedro*, in *Timæo*.

† *Æn.* lib. 6. † *Sonm Scip.* l. 3. c. 17.

and other *Hereticks*, follow'd this Notion of *Plato*, and that *Montanus* about the Middle of the second Century held, that the Souls of the Just are detain'd in Prison, and there punish'd 'till the Resurrection. This he taught, saith **Tertullian*, who was his Disciple. If then the Papists are pleas'd with such *Antiquity* as this, let them enjoy it.

When some other Fathers (as *Lactantius*, *Ambrose*, *Austin*, *Hilary*, *Jerome*, *Ruffin*) speak of a *Purging Fire* for Souls, they speak of this *Origenian Purgatory*, not that which the Church of *Rome* holds. And when others of them speak of a *Purgatory Fire*, they sometimes mean no more than *Repentance*, *Austerity* and *Mortification*. So that tho' there is the mention of *Purgatory*, or a *Purging Fire* to be met with in some Fathers; yet the thing which the *Papists* call *Purgatory*, is not found there.

But because *St. Augustin* of all the Fathers is generally most quoted by the Asserters of *Purgatory*, I will speak particularly of him. It must be own'd, that this Writer differs much from himself: he sometimes holds the *Origenian Purgatory*; at other times he favours the *Papist* one, and is the first Father that saith any thing for that Sort of *Purgatory*. But in other Places he †doubts, and is fearful, and cautious, and defines nothing certainly. But at last he speaks out, and to the Purpose; and the *Papists* will return him no Thanks for it. || He declares that the *Doctrine of Purgatory* was borrow'd from the *Platonists*, who held that all Punishments were inflicted to amend Men, whether they were inflicted by Divine or Human Laws, whether in this Life, or in the other, and therefore there is no Obligation upon us to receive it into *Christianity*. And in another Place he is downright

* Lib. de Animâ. cap. 35.

† Tale aliquid post hanc vitam fieri incredibile non est, & utrum ita sit quæri potest. *Enchirid.* cap. 69. Forſitan verum est. *De Civ. D.* l. 21. c. 25.

|| *De Civ. D.* l. 21. c. 13.

and positive, and tells us in plain Terms, that **there is no middle or third Place : but he must needs be with the Devil, that is not with Christ.*

Other Fathers might be produced to this Purpose, as St. Cyprian, (who is alledg'd by our Adversaries on the other Side,) who is positive, that *†the End of this Life being completed, we are divided into the Habitations either of Everlasting Death, or Immortality.* And St. Jerome, who avers, that *‖what shall be the Lot of all Men in the Day of Judgment, is accomplish'd to every one at the Day of Death.* And St. Chrysostom gives this as his Sentiment, that *†He who in this present Life doth not wash away his Sins, shall not find any Comfort and Refreshment afterwards.* From which and many other Passages in the Fathers we may see how falsely it is asserted by § Bellarmine, that all the Fathers, both Greek and Latin, have, from the very Apostles Time, taught that there is a Purgatory; by which he means that State and Place where Souls suffer a Temporary Punishment for Sin, the Guilt of which is pardon'd; and from this Punishment they may be deliver'd by the Prayers of the living, and translated to Heaven before the Resurrection. This is the Popish Purgatory, but unknown to the Antient Writers of the Church.

Some have thought that the Fabulous *Dialogues* that go under the Name of Gregory I. gave Occasion first of all for this Doctrine: but this we are sure of, that it was first made an *Article of Faith* by the Florentine Council, held A. D. 1439. For the Covetousness and worldly Interests of the Priests requir'd that it should pass for a Point of Christian Faith, that thereby it might be fix'd and establish'd in the Church. Here now we have assign'd the true Rise and Spring of

* Non est ullus ulli locus medius, ut possit esse cum Diabolo, qui non cum Christo. *Aug. l. 1. de pecc. remiss. c. 28.*

† Epist. ad Demetr.

‖ In Joel, cap. 2.

§ Hom. 2. in Lazar.

§ De Purg. l. 1. c. 15.

Purgatory (at least of the Confirmation of it) among the Papists. For *Purgatory* is the Foundation of *Masses*, *Indulgences*, and *Prayers for the Dead*. The Souls of the Faithful are detain'd in those Flames 'till they can be relieved and set free by the Help of these; and therefore the Priests are hired to set about this Work, to pray and to offer Sacrifice Day and Night, thereby to fetch the Souls out of this infernal Fire, and to translate them to Heaven.

But I must not omit to take notice of the *Oblations for the Dead*, which are mention'd in the Writings of some of the Antient Fathers, and are alledg'd by the *Roman* Doctors as a Proof of *Purgatory*. It cannot be denied that such Oblations are spoken of by *Tertullian* in his Book of the *Soldier's Crown*, chap. 3. and by *Cyprian* in his 66th *Epistle*, and in other Places: but they refer not to Purgatory, but to the Saints in Heaven. They were Praises and Thanksgivings for the Martyrs and Holy Men, which laid down their Lives in Defence of Christianity. These solemn Commemorations of the departed Saints were call'd *Oblations*, i. e. of Thanksgiving to God for them: and in some Places these Commemorations were annually observ'd.

Again, in the *Antient* Writers we read it was customary to *Pray for the Dead*; therefore the Doctrine of *Purgatory* prevail'd in those Times, say our Adversaries, for Prayers were made on purpose to beg their Release from Purgatory. But this is a very gross Mistake: for it is evident to any one that is acquainted with the Ecclesiastical Writers, that the Prayers for the Dead had reference to those that were Blessed, and rested from their Labours, those that the Antient Church suppos'd to be in Bliss and Happiness, though not perfect. They were wont to pray for the Apostles and Martyrs, namely, that the Day of Judgment might be hasten'd, and that then they and all Saints might be admitted to the Beatifick Vision, which they thought none were receiv'd to, 'till then. For this

this is certain, that in the first Ages of the Church it was generally believ'd that the Separate Souls of good Men did not (tho' they were Happy) enjoy the Be-
atific Vision. Therefore it was the old Usage to pray for the Dead, that they might be fully and finally justified at the last Day, and that they might partake of *Complete Happiness*. Hence it is clear that Praying for the Deceased (which is mention'd by some of the Fathers) doth not infer a Purgatory, doth not prove that the Antient Church believ'd any such thing. Yea, at this very time Praying for the Dead is us'd in the *Greek Church*, tho' they do not hold *Purgatory*, but only believe that the Souls of the Faithful are not perfectly happy before the Day of Judgment, and for that Reason they pray for their perfect and entire Happiness.

From what hath been said under this last Head, in Answer to the Papist's Plea of *Antiquity*, it is apparent that they have gain'd nothing by this, but it had been better for them to have dropt this Plea. And truly this is so evident, that some of the Popish Writers, who were Men of Ingenuity, freely acknowledge that the Doctrine of Purgatory is not back'd by Antiquity. Let the famous Bishop *Fisher* speak for the rest, **There is, saith he, no mention at all, or very rarely, of Purgatory in the Antient Fathers. The Latins did not at once, but by Degrees, receive this Doctrine; and the Greeks believe it not at this Day. And Purgatory being so long unknown, it is no wonder that in the first Times of the Church there was no Use of Indulgences: for they had their Beginning after Men had been a while scared with the Torments of Purgatory.* Thus he, with whom I conclude.

There only remain some few Reflections, by way of *Application*, on the whole. And

I. We cannot but think it reasonable to renounce this fond and absurd Doctrine of Purgatory, which

* Roffenf. Lutheri Confut. Art. 18.

hath neither *Reason*, nor *Scripture*, nor *Antiquity* to abet it; but especially to take care that we encourage not ourselves in Expectation of being releas'd out of the infernal Prison. Let us not flatter ourselves, that when we are dead, we shall have Time and Leave to do something, in order to the mending our Condition; that we shall be able by our suffering hereafter to expiate for the Sins we committed here on Earth. Many a Papist hath deluded himself, by fancying that some good Priest or other will do him a Kindness, and pray his Soul out of Torments, especially if he take care to leave a constant Salary for him; for he will not do it for nothing. And sometimes the Cheat runs *higher*, and People are persuaded to believe that there is some possibility of rescuing them out of *Hell*. For we are *told, that the Emperor *Trajan* was freed from that Place by Pope *Gregory I.*'s Prayers. Which is defended by several of the Church of *Rome*, and lately by *Salmeron* the Jesuit. *Tom. 14. Disp. 27.* Be not fool'd then with the idle Story of *Purgatory*, lest by that you be induc'd to listen to a Release even from *Hell-Flames*.

II. On the contrary, have true and right Apprehensions concerning the future State of Souls. Persuade yourselves of this, that the Souls, who have left this World, are either Happy or Miserable. The former *need not* our Help; the latter are *not capable* of it. Know this, that all Souls, as soon as they depart hence, receive their particular Judgment at the Tribunal of Christ: and accordingly that the Souls of the Godly are immediately consign'd to Glory; and those of the Wicked to Everlasting Torments, from which there is no Deliverance.

III. Do what you are to do *now*, in this present Life. *Work while it is Day: for the Night cometh, when no Man can work.* Dream not of a Purgatory

* Damascen, de Purg. l. 2. c. 8,

hereafter ; but purge yourselves in this Life by Repentance and Sanctification ; for after Death nothing of this Nature is to be done. Therefore (as the Wise Man adviseth on the same Consideration) *Whatsoever thy Hand findeth to do, do it with thy Might. Eccles. ix. 10.* Now is the Acceptable Time, Now is the Day of Salvation. If you let slip this Season, you are everlastingly ruined.



CHAP. VII.

Of INDULGENCES.



Proceed next to consider the *Doctrine of Indulgences*, another gross Tenet of the *Roman Church*, and which depends upon *Purgatory*, and therefore may fitly be treated of in this Place. On a more particular Account we may think it worth our Time to discuss this Point, because from the Abuse of *Indulgences* *Luther* took the first Occasion to preach against the Pope, and to write against Popery. So that we may reckon the *Reformation* to have had its Beginning from this. Here then I will proceed in the usual Method, that is,

I. I will let the Reader see that the Doctrine of Indulgences is the avow'd Sentiment and Persuasion of the Church of *Rome*.

II. I will shew how invalid and groundless it is ; and

III. I will answer the Pleas and Objections which they make use of for upholding it.

I. It is evident, that this is the Doctrine and Persuasion of the *Roman Church*. By the twenty second Article of the *Tridentine Creed* every one is obliged to

to affirm that the Power of Indulgences was left in the Church by Christ, and that the Use of them is very helpful to Christian People. And this is made an Article of Faith by the same Council, and those are pronounced *Accursed* who deny it. In the twenty fifth Session they explain themselves in this Manner, some Temporal Punishment must be undergone by good Men for their Sins : for after their Sins are pardon'd by God, there is a Punishment yet remaining due : and this Punishment must be born either in this Life, or in the other. The Punishment in this Life is Works of Penance and Satisfaction, as Prayers, Fasting, Giving of Alms, Whipping themselves ; together with the Afflictions and Crosses which Men are incident to in this World, as Poverty, Sickness, Pain, Losses, Disgrace, &c. These are the Temporal Punishments of this Life : and those that are to be undergone in the Life to come are the Pains and Torments of Purgatory. Now the Church of *Rome* assures us that these are taken away by *Indulgences* ; Sinners are hereby excus'd from all tedious Fasting, and troublesome Repetitions of Prayers, and costly Giving of Alms, and the painful bestowing of Lashes on their Bodies, and enduring all manner of Austerities, which the Priest is wont to impose upon Offenders. They are excus'd, I say, from all these by the *Indulgences* which are to be had in the Church of *Rome* : for, according to them, these are a *Pardon* or *Release* from Punishment in this Life, which we otherwise should undergo in way of Penance, tho' the Sin be pardon'd. And then as for the *other Punishment*, viz. the Afflictions and Calamities of this Life, which are the Consequences of Sin, these are said to be taken away, because they are but light in respect of what the Sinner should have born in Purgatory. And as for the Pains of that Place, the Sinner is wholly exempted from them by the happy Gift of Indulgences. And indeed here the blessed Benefit of these spiritual Wares is most discover'd : for by the Help of these the Offenders

senders are secur'd from ever coming into those future Torments. This is the Extent of the *Roman Indulgences*: by them Men may be freed both from Temporal Punishments here, and those that they should suffer in Purgatory hereafter.

II. I am to shew how *invalid* and *groundless* this Doctrine and Practice of the *Romanists* is. And this I shall do, first by destroying those pretended Grounds, on which they build the Doctrine of Indulgences. Indulgences are built on these four Foundations, First, That Punishments remain after Sin forgiven. Secondly, That there is a Purgatory. Thirdly, That there are Merits and Works of Supererogation. Fourthly, That these Merits may be and are applied by the Church. Now, it is easy to shew that these Foundations, on which the Doctrine of Indulgences is grounded, are weak and unsound, and consequently they cannot bear up the Superstructure.

The first Foundation is, that *Temporal Punishments* remain due to penitent Sinners, even after their Sin and Guilt are pardon'd by God, and that these Punishments are Acts of Penance, and the Afflictions of this Life. This is a false Proposition, because (as hath been said before) Prayers, and Fasting, and Alms, and Acts of Religion and Devotion are not *Punishments*; and as for those *Afflictions* which they call *Punishments*, they deserve not that Name, but a better and milder one, that is, *Corrections* and *Fatherly Chastisements*. Indeed they might properly be call'd Punishments, if by them we could satisfy God's Justice for our Offences: but this is a Work that can be done only by our Redeemer: *By one Offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified, Heb. x. 14.* It was done *once*, and it was done for *ever*, and therefore it is in vain for us to undertake it: it is in vain to pretend to undergo any Punishment, in order to make Satisfaction to the offended Majesty. Whence it follows that it is a false Doctrine that a Man's Sins are graciously forgiven him by God, and yet that God

exacts Temporal Punishment of him for them : and that Christ hath not so expiated, but that *some Satisfaction* is to be made by us. And this consequently must be true, that when the Offence is forgiven to Penitent Sinners, there remains no Temporal Punishment to be suffer'd in this Life, nor in the other by way of Satisfaction. Which brings me to speak of, The second Foundation on which Indulgences are built, namely, *Purgatory* : for the Church of *Rome* reckons Indulgences to be a Release not only from Penalty here, but from those Pains which remain due to Penitent Sinners in that State which is to come. But I having already prov'd that *there is no such State*, the Doctrine which is founded upon it must needs fall.

The third Basis of the Doctrine of Indulgences is the *Merits* of the Saints, and the Works of *Supererogation* : for the Church of *Rome* holds, that not only for the Sake of *Christ's Merits*, but for those of the *Saints*, Sinners are releas'd from the Punishments which they should endure here and in *Purgatory*. They affirm that some of the Saints are so good and holy as to merit not only for *themselves*, but for *others* ; they have a Sufficiency of Merits to serve themselves, and to befriend their Neighbours besides. And truly 'tis pity this *Overplus* of Merits should be lost : therefore they are gather'd by the Church of *Rome* into one *Common Stock* or *Treasury*. This, according to the Popish Doctrine, is the great *Fund* of *Indulgences*. The superabundant Merits of the Saints are the Spring of this great Blessing to the Church. Wherefore if there be no *Merits*, then there are no *Indulgences*. He that proves one, proves the other. The former of these is the Subject of one of my following Discourses, it being one entire Point of Popery, and therefore I will not anticipate what is there to be said to disprove the Doctrine of Merits.

The fourth and last Ground of the Doctrine of Indulgences is the *Application of these Merits*. For according to the Church of *Rome* it is not sufficient that,

that, by the Merits of Christ and the Saints, Penitent Sinners are absolv'd from their Obligation to Punishment, but there must be a *Particular Applying* of these Merits to those that want, and so the Punishment due to them for their Sins is remitted; for the Merits of Saints far surpass all the Punishments that are due to Sinners. Out of this Storehouse Indulgences are to be had; out of this they must be fetch'd. But who keeps the Keys of this Treasury? Who, but the *Pope*, to whom the Keys belong? He can bestow Pardons on whom he will, by applying to them the superfluous Merits of the Saints, and thereby discharging them from all temporal Punishment both here and hereafter. And from him all *Priests* have Power to apply these Merits as they please. This is the great Mystery of *Indulgences*, according to the Determination of the *Roman Church*. *The *Council of Trent* declares, that the Overplus of the Satisfactions of Christ and the Saints is a Treasury committed to the Church. And the famous *Bull of Clement VI* mentions not only the Surplusage of the Merits of Christ, but of the Saints, as an inexhaustible Storehouse of Pardons: and it saith, that this precious Treasure is deposited into the Hands of *St. Peter* and his Successors, to be dispens'd to whom they think fit. And one of the most celebrated and approved Doctors of the Church of *Rome* † maintains all this by Arguments.

But who sees not that there is no real Foundation for this Opinion, and that all that can be suggested in its Behalf may easily be overthrown? For first, this Application of one mere Man's Merits to another is a blasphemous Practice, because it is founded on that blasphemous Doctrine, which is so derogatory to the Merits of Christ, that one Man may satisfy for the Sins of another. Again, do we not see how prophanely these Merits and Works of Supererogation

* Sess. 21. can. 9.

† Bellarm. de Indulg.

are *Applied*? When the Priests are dispensing these Indulgences, how comes it to pass that *they* only can have them, that *disburse ready Money*? Why may not *poor Folks* have the Benefit of them? yea, when these Indulgences respect those of the other World, whose Lot it is to be in Purgatory, why must those Pains be *bought off*? Will the Merits of the Saints do a Man no Good without giving *Money* for them?

Moreover, it might be ask'd, how the Priests know such and such Souls are gone to *Purgatory*, and not to *Hell*? And if they be gone to this latter Place, then the *Indulgences*, as well as Prayers, are in vain. But now I remember they are not in vain, because they prove so profitable to the Priests. I might farther observe, that the Doctrine of *Indulgences* seems to be an Overthrowing of *Masses for Souls*, and *Vigils*, &c. for by *Indulgences* all the Parties Sins were pardon'd in their Life's Time, therefore those Soul-Masses and Vigils are useless. But the Papists take no notice of this, and several other things which are contradictory in their Religion. Thus all the Foundations of this Doctrine are not only shaken, but overthrown.

The third thing I undertook was to answer the *Pleas* and *Objections* which are made use of by our Adversaries. First, *Antiquity* is pleaded, the *Litteræ Pacis* or *Libelli Indulgentiæ* given by the Candidates of Martyrdom to the *Lapsed*, i. e. such as had fallen into scandalous Sins, are alledg'd by them; and of these St. Cyprian speaks, who liv'd in the third Century. For we must know that in the Antient Times of the Church, those that were found guilty of great Offences were enjoyn'd Mortification and great Severities, which since have been call'd *Penance*: but the Bishops of the Church had Power to *mitigate* and relax their Punishment, as they saw fit and expedient: and this *Mitigation* was stiled *Pardon* or *Indulgence*. If we consult the Writings of the fore-said Father, we shall there observe that he frequently makes mention of this Usage towards the Lapsed. And this was afterwards

afterwards allow'd of by the *Council of Nice*, Canon 10. the Bishops might give Indulgence to Penitents accordingly as they found their Behaviour; and this the Council calls φιλανθρωπίαν, and χερσὺς αὐτῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς, shewing Humanity and Benevolence to them. But what is this to the present Purpose? Doth not any unprejudic'd Eye see that there is a vast Difference between *this* and the *Indulgences* which are given in the Church of *Rome*? The holy Martyrs interceded for the mitigating of the Severities towards the Lapsed, and the Bishops themselves were willing to shew Favour to Penitents, according to the Proofs which they gave of their Repentance, and to receive them into Communion again. But there is no Resemblance, no Cognation betwixt this Practice and that of the *Roman* Bishops at this Day, who give *Indulgences* not only for Temporal Punishment in this Life, but for the Pains of Purgatory after this Life.

Yea, there are those among the *Roman* Catholicks that stretch the Doctrine of *Indulgences* yet farther: and the People are made to believe, that by them they have a *Pardon* granted them of *all their Sins, past, present, and to come*. And truly this appears from the *Forms of Indulgences* that have been given out in several Pope's Days. In the Bulls or Indulgences of these Popes, *Clement VI.* and *VIII.* *Boniface VIII.* and *IX.* *Urban VIII.* you will find that they grant not only *Relaxation of Punishment*, but *Remission of Sins*, yea * a *Plenary Remission of Sins*, a *most full Pardon of Sins*, a *Remission and Pardon of all Sins*, and the like. And it is well known, that the Price of all Sins is set down; and upon paying of such and such Sums of Money, you are absolv'd from the Guilt of them. All the People understand it so, and take Indulgences to be the Pardon of all their Faults, as well as a Remission of all Punishment. So that the *Roman* Writers egregiously prevaricate when they

contend in their Disputes with the Protestants, that nothing more is meant by *Indulgences* than the dispensing with Temporal Punishment, whereas they know that the *General Pardons* express'd in the Bulls of Indulgence give occasion to believe, that the Remission even of Eternal Punishment is meant. But the Priests, especially the Indulgence-mongers, do not undeceive the People, but rather foster this Belief and Persuasion in them.

But I do not bring this as the profess'd Opinion and Doctrine of the Church of Rome. *Bellarmino* and the rest of their Doctors hold, that *no Fault* is remitted by Indulgences, only *Temporal Punishment*. I will do them right in this, as in all other Cases between them and us; and therefore in this foregoing Discourse I have wholly confin'd my self to what the *Council of Trent* and the chief Doctors assert in this Matter. But you see, that even *this*, which they maintain, hath no Foundation, and that their Plea of *Antiquity* is groundless. Only from an innocent Practice of the Primitive Church this corrupt one of theirs took its Original: as we shew'd before, that other gross Opinions and Practices amongst the Papists took their Rise from some laudable Doctrines and Usages of the First Christian Churches. The greatest Antiquity they possibly can plead, is six hundred Years after Christ: for about that time *Indulgences* were first offer'd by Pope *Gregory I.* but those differ'd much from what were establish'd afterwards by the *Roman Church*, insomuch that they cannot be said to be of the same Nature and Kind with them.

Again, the Popish Writers alledge *Scripture* (as well as Antient Practice) for their present Indulgences. But they are very sparing in their Quotations, and I do not know of any Text that they insist upon, but that in *Col. i. 24.* *I now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind, or lacking of the Afflictions of Christ in my Flesh, for his Body's Sake, which is the Church.* Where they fancy they

they find Works of *Supererogation*, which are the Foundation of *Indulgences*. St. Paul, say they, had an Overplus of Merits, and therefore could satisfy for the *Colossians*. Yea, he could add to the Merits and Sufferings of Christ himself; for it is said, *he fill'd up that which was behind of Christ's Afflictions and Sufferings*: and thence it is very plain, that he was in a Capacity to lend the Virtue of his Sufferings to other Men, that wanted them: and thereby these Persons might have this applied to them as if it were their own. But such Inferences as these from the Apostle's Words are both fallacious and prophane. They are the former, because they proceed from a wilful and deceitful mistaking, or rather perverting the Apostle's Words: for it is most evident, that he speaks not here of the Afflictions which Christ suffer'd, but of those which he suffer'd for Christ's Sake, and which attended Christians, and therefore they are call'd *the Afflictions of Christ*, as we may undeniably gather from the Use of the like Expression in 2 Cor. 1. 5. *The Sufferings of Christ abound in us*, that is, we abundantly endure Sufferings for our preaching the Gospel; and they may well be call'd *Christ's Sufferings*, because he reckons them as his own, *Acts ix. 4*. And the Apostle was to *fill up* these Sufferings or Afflictions, that is, he was to undergo the Remainder of those Sufferings which were laid out for him by God; therefore they are said to be *behind*, he having not yet suffer'd all that was allotted him. And again, the foregoing Inferences are *prophane*, horribly prophane and impious; for none that have the least Reverence for our Saviour's meritorious Sufferings would so much as imagine that they can be *fill'd up*, by what any mortal Man can do or suffer. No: his Sufferings were complete, and therefore nothing was lacking or defective in them, and therefore that Sense which the *Roman Catholicks* put upon these Words of St. Paul is justly to be exploded and abhorr'd.

Some *Romish* Doctors have attempted to prove, that *Indulgences* may be granted by the Pope and Archbishops and Bishops, because St. Paul saith, *Let a Man so account of us as of the Ministers of Christ, and Stewards or Dispensers of the Mysteries of God.* 1 Cor. iv. 1. and again, 1 Cor. ix. 17. *A Dispensation or Stewardship is committed to me.* But any one may see how childish and trifling this is (the *Economy or Stewardship* which is here mention'd having not the least relation to the thing design'd by our Adversaries) and therefore the mentioning of it is sufficient to refute it. I might produce here in the last Place the Testimony of three eminent Writers of the *Roman Church*, who were sensible how little Foundation there is for the *Doctrine of Indulgences*, * *Durandus*, † *Cajetan*, ‡ *Fisher*, and therefore they ingenuously declare that it is no where to be found in the Scriptures, or in Antient Writers.

I have now finish'd the Particulars I undertook: permit me to apply what hath been said.

First, give Credit to the Doctrine which I have asserted, and do not fondly imagine that there is any Reality, yea any Probability in those things which the Church of *Rome* and her Priests have suggested; never be prevail'd with to entertain such a blasphemous Absurdity as this, that the Doing and Suffering of the Saints can satisfy the Justice of God for the Sins of others.

Secondly, see the miserable Cheats in this Church. They don't *professedly maintain* Remission of Sins past and to come to be the Benefit of *Indulgences*; that is too gross: but the People are countenanc'd in the Persuasion, and that must needs prove very dangerous to them.

Thirdly, therefore observe how these Indulgences promote a wicked and ungodly Life. This was taken

* 4 Sent. Dist. 20. qu. 3.

‡ In Artic. 18 Lutheri.

† Opusc. 15. cap. 1.

notice of by one of their own Communion ; * *when the Indulgences, saith he, were grown common, the Generality of Persons did less abstain from committing wicked Acts.* This was well enough for him, but we may speak more plainly and broadly ; It is certain that these Indulgences are an Encouragement to all manner of Villany, Murder, Adultery, Theft, Perjury, Blasphemy, and whatever other Exorbitances you can name : for what is it that People will not do when they are persuaded that they can receive a Pardon for it, yea even before they have committed it ? † One that had travell'd into the *Roman Territories*, and had acquainted himself with the Sentiments and Practices of the *Roman Catholicks*, tells us that the common Sort of Papiſts, for Want of better Teaching, used to say, “ When we have sinned, we must confess ; “ and when we have confess'd, we must sin again, “ that we may confess again, to make work for new “ Indulgences and Jubilees.” It is no wonder then that all Wickedness is so rife amongst the Papiſts, as that Gentleman hath observ'd.

Fourthly and lastly, apply yourselves to the true Fountain of Pardon and Remission of Sins, the Lord Christ Jesus ; and rely wholly on his meritorious Undertakings.

* Polyd. Virg. de Invent. rer. l. 8. c. 1.

† Sir Edwyn Sandys's *Europæ Speculum*.





CHAP. VIII.

Of Auricular Confession.

THIS being a Practice in great Use among the Papists, I will distinctly, but very briefly, speak of it. It is call'd *Auricular Confession*, because it is telling in the Priest's Ear all the Sins and Circumstances of a Man's own Life : and this is to be done once a Year at least. The Church of *Rome* holds it to be by *divine Right*, and according to the Institution of *Christ*. They are the very Words of the **Council of Trent* ; which also enjoins it as necessary to *Salvation*. And to let us see that they are in good earnest, there is a *Curse* pronounced by this Council on those that hold this Practice not to be according to the Command of *Christ*, but a human Invention. They tell us in one of their *Canons*, that this private Confession to a Priest is one of the essential Parts of the Sacrament of *Penance* : and therefore it goes under the Name of *Sacramental Confession*. Yea, † one that profess'd to be of our own Church hath told us, that Auricular Confession was and is an Abatement of the publick Penance and Discipline of the Church ; so that if this were severely kept up, the other might be spared. Wherefore he advises that in the Church of *England*, where the *Publick Penance* is wanting, there be a Law made of *Private Confession* to a Priest once a Year.

But notwithstanding this Advice, and the former solemn Injunction and Anathema, there is not the least Ground for such a Practice as this in the Church.

* Bell. 14. Can. 6.

† Mr. Thorndyke.

We read of no such thing in Scripture, neither in the Old nor New Testament, tho' we find *Confession of Sin* often enjoin'd, and as often practis'd in these Sacred Writings. But Confession to a Priest in private of all the Sins a Man commits is no where commanded, or so much as favour'd. The Places which they alledge, where Persons who have offended are bid to confess their Sins, or are encourag'd to do so, are *Numb. v. 6, 7. 1 Kings viii. 33, 35. Neh. i. 6. Prov. xxviii. 13.* But they are nothing to the purpose of them that produce them; for they either speak of *Confession of Sin to God*, or of *Publick Confession before Men*, but there is not the least Hint that the Confession is to be made in *private*, or to a *Priest*.

And as for other Places, as *Matt. iii. 6.* where 'tis said that those who were baptized by *John* confessed their Sins; and *Acts xix. 18.* where it is recorded that some Converts *came and confess'd, and shew'd their Deeds*, it is plain that the former of these Texts speaks only of a Confession before Baptism, and the other of a Confession at their first Conversion only; and both of them of an *open* and *publick* Acknowledgment of their former evil Lives. Now, what Affinity hath this with the Command of the *Council of Trent*, that every Man and Woman once a Year at least shall confess their Sins in secret to their own Parish Priest?

And it is strange and surprising, that the *Roman* Doctors should quote *Jam. v. 16.* as a Text for this Purpose. *Confess your Faults one to another*, saith the Apostle; therefore, say they, all Men are obliged to confess their Sins privately to the Priest. This may convince us that these Men will make what Inferences they please from any part of Scripture: for it is undeniably manifest that this Text is meant of the *mutual Acknowledgment* of our Offences and Transgressions towards one another. It bids us unburthen our Consciences to our faithful Brethren, in order to receiving Relief and Comfort from them. But no unprejudic'd Person can make use of the Apostle's Words to

to prove Confession to a *Priest alone*, yea rather we may prove hence that the *Priest* is to confess his Sins to the *People*.

Thus upon examining the Passages in Scripture on which the *Romanists* found their Auricular Confession, it appears that God hath no where requir'd this; that neither Christ nor his Apostles favour this Practice. Yet they have the Confidence to say, that it is enjoin'd them even upon Pain of Damnation. But the Scripture saith no such thing, and there is not one Instance there that can be alledg'd to countenance it.

Nor are they able to alledge any thing for this from the *Practice of the Christian Church*. The Penitents confess'd their Sins when the People were present, as we learn from **Tertullian* and †*Eusebius*, and other ancient Writers. So when they were absolv'd and reconcil'd, 'twas in the Presence of the whole Church, as is clear from St. ‖*Jerome*, and several other Writers. But we have no Examples of *Private Confession*; the first Rise of which was under Pope *Innocent III.* in the *Lateran Council*: which shews it to be a novel Invention, and that there is no Antiquity to commend it.

And as this Popish Practice hath neither *Scripture* nor *Antiquity*, so neither hath it any *Reason* to support it. No Man is oblig'd by the Law of Nature to reveal all his secret Sins and Offences, with all the particular Circumstances and Aggravations of them, to any one Person whomsoever. And particularly there is no rational Principle that dictates to us that we must confess our Sins privately to a *Priest*. This is neither necessary to *Repentance*, nor to *Forgiveness*. Not to the former, for we may be thoroughly sorrowful and penitent, without rehearsing all our Delinquencies to a *Priest*. Not to the latter; for upon our hearty Confessions of our Sins to Almighty God,

* De Pudicitia.

‖ Epist. ad Oceanum.

† Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. ult.

and sincerely repenting of them, we shall find Mercy and Pardon thro' the Merits of Jesus without a complete Enumeration of all our Sins to any Man once a Year.

I have but these two things briefly to suggest by way of *Corollary*. First, instead of approving and practising this clancular Confession of Sins to the Priest, let us inform ourselves of the bad Design of it. Without Doubt it is a politick Contrivance of the Church of *Rome* to search into the Secrets of Men, and to acquaint themselves with all the hidden Affairs and Transactions of the World. This *Divination*, which consists in prying into the *Entrails* of Men, is of more Use to the Churchmen than the looking into those of *Beasts* was to the *Old Romans*. This Invention of *Shriving* is of wonderful Advantage to them, by letting them into the Hearts and most inward Recesses of Emperors, Kings and Princes, as well as of those of an inferior Rank.

Secondly, let me add this by way of Caution, that when we speak against the Popish Confession to a Priest, we do not disapprove of confessing of Sin to a Spiritual Guide, if it be free, and when a wounded Conscience requires it. Yea, it is very useful, and sometimes necessary to lay open our Miscarriages and Offences to a faithful Minister and Pastor, that thereby we may receive from him seasonable Advice and Counsel, and be forwarded in the great Work of Repentance, and have the Remission of Sins applied to us by his sacred Ministry.



CHAP. IX.

Of Praying for the Dead.

IT is the Judgment of the *Roman Church*, that it is an useful and profitable Piece of Devotion to pray for the Dead. It is needless to be solicitous in proving this to be her Sentiment; for it is one of the Articles of the *Tridentine Faith*, that *the Souls detain'd in Purgatory are help'd by the Prayers of the Faithful*. And not only from the Canons of this Council, but from the *Romish Catechisms* and *Offices*, and daily Practice, we may satisfy ourselves that this is and ever was a grand Tenet of the *Romanists*.

We cannot expect to have it formally confuted in *Scripture*: for tho' (as I shall observe afterwards) some of the *Jews* had used themselves to pray for the deceased, yet it was nothing a-kin to this praying of the *Papists*, and so there was not an Occasion for the Reproof of this in the Old, or indeed in the New Testament. Nor need I here produce *Reasons* and *Arguments* against this undue Practice (as I have done in the former Points) because I have effected my Business already: for having confuted the Doctrine of *Purgatory*, the Doctrine of Praying for the Dead must needs fall, because the *Papists* pray for them to be deliver'd out of *Purgatory*. Their praying supposes the Souls of the departed to be there in Torment, and the Prayers are to relieve them, and free them thence. But if there be no *Purgatory*, then Prayers for the Dead are to no Purpose. So that all that was said under that former Head of *Purgatory*, from *Scripture* and other Topicks, is valid here.

But I will farther suggest these two Things; First, it is sufficient to condemn praying for the Dead, that it is a gross Piece of *Idol-worship*: which is spoken against by Christ in these Words, *teaching for Doctrines the Commandments of Men*, Matt. xv. 9. and again, *Ye know not what you worship*, John iv. 22. and by the Apostle, *what is not of Faith is Sin*, Rom. xiv. 23. On this Account we have Reason to reject this Doctrine and Practice: for that can be no Christian Doctrine, that can be no lawful Practice, which is no where prescribed or allow'd by Christ or his Apostles.

And then in the next Place we might argue from the strange Absurdity, which is contain'd in the Papists praying for the Dead. They tell us, that some of the Deceased intercede and pray for us, and thereby procure Benefits for us, and on that Account we are to pray to them: and yet (for all this) we must not only pray to them, but we must pray for some of them. Here is a strange Mese of Medley, and none but the Stomach of a Roman Catholick could digest it. But such wild and preposterous Notions as these are baffled by seriously considering, that as the Souls of the Saints in Heaven are below our Praying to them, because they are our Fellow-Creatures; so they are above our Praying for them, because they are glorified. But as for the Souls of the Damned, they are not capable of our Prayers of any Sort. And as for Souls in any other State than these two, we know that it is a mere Dream and Invention of our Adversaries.

But however let us hear what they say for themselves. Here, as in the other Points, they alledge the Bible; and they appeal to the Practice of the Antients. I will consider both these Pleas distinctly: and first I will take notice of those Texts which they commonly alledge; one out of the Apocryphal Writings, and another out of the New Testament. The former is in 2 Macc. xii. 42, 43, &c. where we find Judas Maccabeus and his Company praying for the Dead, and offering a Sin-Offering, and making Reconciliation for the

the Dead: and this Action of theirs is commended by the Author of that Book. And the Popish Writers alledge this Place likewise to prove *Purgatory*; as indeed * one of them tells us, that *the Apocryphal Books are of great Use against the Hereticks, and particularly Purgatory is no where so plainly asserted as in the Maccabees*. But to this I answer,

1st, Those Books are of human Authority only, and therefore we can settle no Point of Divinity by any Testimony that is fetch'd hence. Bring us *Canonical Scripture*, and then we know what to say to it.

2^{dly}, If *Jason the Jew*, who writ the Book of the *Maccabees*, had a mind to misinterpret the Law of *Moses* concerning a *Sin-Offering* for the Living, and to apply it also to the Dead, what is that to us? His false Notion must not bias us. If he misinterpreted the Fact of *Judas*, and judg'd amiss of it, we are not oblig'd to govern our Thoughts and Judgments by his Mistakes.

3^{dly}, This Passage hath no Affinity with the *Papists* praying for the Deceased, whom they suppose to be in Torments of *Purgatory* for their Sins: but it is plain that this Place speaks not of *Purgatory*, because we read that the Sin which these Men died in, was a *Mortal Sin*, no less than *Idolatry*, *ŷ. 40.* and therefore it could not be expiated by Temporal Punishment: but according to the Confession of the *Romanists* they must be punish'd in Hell for ever, and consequently no *Praying*, no *Sin-Offering*, no *Reconciliation* could be made for those Offenders. This shews how impertinently this Text is alledg'd for the Proof of that *Praying for the Dead*, which is in use amongst the *Papists*.

4^{thly}, The Text clears itself: for 'tis said, that *Judas Maccabeus* and the rest pray'd and sacrificed for the Dead, in reference to the *Resurrection*, which is expressly set down in *ŷ. 43.* and *44.* So that thence it

the Christian should pray for the Dead as that great Day, that is, they pray'd that God

is evident, that this Praying here mention'd had nothing of the Nature of the Praying for the Dead, which the Church of *Rome* maintains. These Persons (and all the *Jews* generally, as *Buxtorf* and *Lightfoot* will satisfy us) pray'd that the departed might rise again to Salvation and Happiness, and have their Consummation of Bliss at the last Day : but the *Roman* Devotionists pray that the Souls of the departed may be rescued from the Prison of Purgatory in which they are detain'd for the Sins committed in this Life. Let any impartial Man judge whether these two Prayings be alike.

The Place in the *New Testament*, which is made use of to prove it lawful to pray for the Dead, is *2 Tim. i. 18.* *The Lord grant unto him that he may find Mercy of the Lord in that Day.* Where *St. Paul* prays for *Onesiphorus*, who, 'tis probable, was dead at that time, because *St. Paul* salutes the *House of Onesiphorus*, *1. 16.* not himself, who, if he had been alive, and Part of his Family, would have been named particularly. But first, it may suffice to answer, that it is not possible to prove that *Onesiphorus* was dead at that time. Yea, there is no Ground at all for that Surmise of our Adversaries, that *Onesiphorus* was dead when the Apostle wrote this Epistle. It is likely he was absent from his Family, and in his Way for *Rome*, where *Paul* was a Prisoner when he wrote this Epistle, and therefore he salutes the Family, and not the Master of it. Secondly, tho' we should suppose, that *Onesiphorus* was then dead, yet this which is here said by the Apostle makes nothing at all for that praying for the Dead, which the *Roman* Church holds : for they pray that the deceased may be deliver'd from Purgatory, which Deliverance is suppos'd to be before the Day of Judgment : but the Apostle prays that *Onesiphorus* may find Mercy in *that Day*, that is, the last Day, as it is usually call'd. And so the Christians afterwards pray'd for Mercy for the Dead at that great Day, that is, they pray'd that

God would manifestly crown them with *perfect Glory* at the End of the World.

Some make use of that Text, *How long, O Lord, Holy and True, dost thou not judge and avenge our Blood on them that dwell on the Earth?* Rev. vi. 10. for here the Martyrs Souls pray for Vengeance on the Church's Persecutors, consequently that their own Happiness might be accomplish'd; and we may do the same in their Behalf. Who denies this? But what is this to the Purpose? Is the praying for the glorious Resurrection of the Saints, and their complete Happiness of Body and Soul at the End of the World, the same with praying for the Release of Souls out of Purgatory? For this is that which the Papists pray for, when they pray for the Dead. There is nothing then, you see, in this Text, that the *Romish* Sophisters can rationally improve to the Establishment of their Doctrine.

I come now to consider their other *Objections*, taken from the declared *Opinion* and *Practice* (as they pretend) of the *Antient Church*. From the Records of the Fathers and Primitive Writers it is manifest that Praying for the Deceased was in Use in the Christian Churches. And truly here our Adversaries are in the right, and if any Man undertakes to disprove it, he therein shews himself to be a mere Novice and a perfect Stranger to Antiquity. We must acknowledge that the Papists are able to produce Testimonies of this Practice in the Primitive Times. And this I will say, and will maintain it, that *This* is the only thing of all that I have mention'd, or shall afterwards mention as belonging to *Popery*, for which they can plead *Antiquity*. It can't be denied that it was the Custom of the Primitive Church to pray for the Souls of the Faithful departed. Which might cause *Grotius* to say, *Prayers for the Dead have the Authority of the Universal Church. At the Begin-

* De Antichristo.

ning of the third, or the End of the second Century, Invocation for the Dead was used, as *Tertullian* testifies. And it is held lawful by *Cyprian*, in his sixty sixth Epistle to *Pamelius*. * *Epiphanius*, in the fourth Century, reckons *Aerius* an Heretick, because he held that Prayers are not to be made for the Dead. It is true, the *Memorie Martyrum* and the *Oblations for the Deceased* (which I had occasion to mention in a former Discourse) were at first only *Commemorative* and *Eucharistical*; they were instituted to preserve the Memory of the Dead, and to celebrate their Praises, and to give Thanks to God, and glorify him in his Saints and Servants; and they were appointed partly to excite others to imitate the Dead, partly to testify their Hope of Heaven and future Happiness. But at length these *Oblations* and these *Memorials* began to be (not only *Eucharistical*, as I said before, but) *Petitory*: in these they commended the deceased Saints unto God, and wish'd well to them, and desir'd their future Happiness and Glory at the Resurrection.

But tho' I have thus acknowledg'd that it was the Custom of old in the Church to pray for the deceased, yet this doth not countenance the *Papish* Practice of praying for them. Tho' there is great Antiquity to be pleaded for putting up Petitions for departed Souls, yet this cannot be pleaded for that Usage, as it is at this Day, and hath been many Years practis'd in the Church of Rome. And this now I will make good by letting the Reader see; first, how and in what respect the *Antients* pray'd for the Dead; and secondly, how the *Papists* now do it.

In order to explaining the first, I must premise this, that it was the general Opinion of the *Antients*, that the Souls of the Godly were sequestred in some invisible Place, and there kept from the beatifick Presence till the last Day. The Souls of the Faithful

after Death remain in the Earthly Paradise, say * *Irenæus* and † *Origen*. The Souls lie hid in dark Receptacles till the Day of Judgment, and see not God, saith † *Tertullian*. His *Carcer Infernus* is no other than *Hades*, the common Receptacle of Souls till the Resurrection; and then he holds they shall be reunited to their Bodies; and the Souls of the Godly shall be taken up to Heaven, and not before. In Expectation of this the Antients were wont to wish them Joy, and Comfort, and Mercy, and Light, and Peace (for these are the Terms they used) and especially Refreshment. And accordingly they thought the Last Day is call'd the *Times of Refreshing*, *Acts* iii. 19. because the Souls of the Righteous are refresh'd and reliev'd after their ardent and passionate Breathing and Expectations, after their inflamed Desires and Longings for perfect Bliss.

Now this was the *True Reason* of their praying for the Dead, viz. their Belief that the Souls of the Faithful after Death do not immediately go to Heaven, but are detain'd in some dark Cells and hidden Receptacles. It being their Persuasion, that whilst they were separated from the Bodies they were not Partakers of the Beatifick Vision, or that their Condition was not so good and desirable as it should be after the Resurrection and Last Judgment, they betook themselves to their Prayers for these separate Souls, and verily thought that they might be help'd and befriended by them, i. e. by praying for the hast'ning of the Resurrection, and the Last Judgment, when the Saints should be fully and completely happy.

This, it is likely, is all that was intended at first by praying for the Dead, tho' I can't deny, that something more was added afterwards. I suspect, that the

* *Lib. 1. c. 2. De Princip. l. 2. c. 1. De Animâ. cap. 25.*

Peace and Pardon, which * *Arnobius* relates were pray'd for, with respect not only to the *Living*, but the *Dead*, were Part of this Addition. I believe it will be found that *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, and some others (whose Sense in such Matters is to be look'd on as a private Opinion, not the Sense of the Church) extended the Benefit of their Prayers for the Dead both to the *Good* and *Bad*, and they thought that the Damnation of the *Bad* (though it could not be changed, yet) might be mitigated thereby. Some thought, that the *Sins* of the *Dead* might be forgiven, and that there might be something done as to their *Punishment*: but they agreed not about the Nature of the *Sins* which might be pardon'd, nor whether the *Punishments* were only to be lessen'd, or at last extinguish'd. As *Monica*, when she was alive, often pray'd for her Son *Augustine*; so he pray'd for her, when she was dead, that God would forgive her her *Sins*, and not enter into Judgment with her. And perhaps some of those Prayers before-mention'd, namely for *Joy*, *Comfort*, *Refreshment*, &c. had respect to this. However, it is not to be doubted, that it was the Opinion of some of the Antients, that the *Dead* receiv'd real Benefit by the Prayers of the *Living*. For we have acknowledg'd, and do still, that some of the *Fathers* were in part stain'd with the *Corruptions* which *Rome* now is justly condemn'd for.

But, if we look back to the *more Primitive Times*, there was not this Degeneracy: their Prayers respect-ed the *Last Day*; they ask'd of God, that those that were departed in *Christ* might, according to the *Divine Promise*, rise again, and be publickly and solemnly acquitted from their *Sins* before *Men* and *Angels*, and attain to the full Accomplishment and Perfection of their *Happiness*, the utmost Consummation of

* Pax cunctis & Venia postulatur magistratibus, exercitibus, re-gibus, familiaribus, inimicis adhuc vitam degentibus, & resolutis tor-porum vinctione. lib. 4.

Bliss and Glory: which is the same that we daily pray for in that Petition, *Thy Kingdom come.*

But it is otherwise with the *Papists*, (which is the second thing I was to shew) they do not think any of those deceased Persons they pray for to be in the least Happy, but to be of the Number of those that are tormented Night and Day; and the End and Design of their Prayers for them is, that they may be releas'd and set free from those Torments. There is then a vast Difference between the *first Christians* praying for the Dead, and that of the *Roman Catholics*. The former did it without Regard to Purgatory (for there was no such thing thought of in those Days:) but the latter do it with Respect to this chiefly. The one put up their Supplications for the Saints, that they might be finally glorified; but the other pray for the Dead, that there may be a Cessation of their Punishment. Yea, and the Vulgar pray for all Persons promiscuously, and without any Distinction, that they may fare well in the other World, and be brought into God's Favour. We are told by one of their Communion, what was the Rise of this: Prayers, saith he, were appointed to be said in Antient Liturgies for dying Men, Men passing out of the World: whence the *Popish Monks* took occasion also to pray for the Dead: for *Dying* and *Dead* are the same, it seems, with them. It is their own *Cassander*, that affirms this; and therefore they have no Reason to be angry with me, for charging it on them. But whatever was the Occasion, we are sure that it is an unwarrantable Specimen of Devotion, it hath nothing in the Scriptures to countenance it; it is condemn'd by Primitive Antiquity; it is very dangerous and pernicious in its Consequence; and, in a Word, it is an unlawful Practice.

The Use of what hath been said is comprehended in few Words;

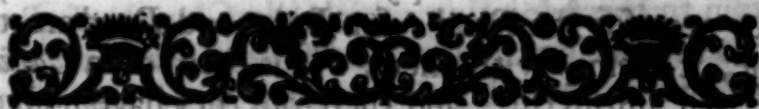
Be truly apprehensive of the Error and Falseness of this Doctrine, that I have set before you: and

form

form right Apprehensions concerning the State and Condition of the Dead. Look upon the Saints as *above* your Prayers; look upon the wicked, as *past* them. The former stand not in need of our Petitions, because they are for ever happy: the latter can receive no Benefit from them, because they are irrecoverably miserable.

II. Be convinc'd of the Sinfulness and Mischief of this Practice that hath been discours'd of. Questionless, it is a great Encouragement to those that lead wicked Lives, that Prayers shall be made for them after they are dead, and that there is some Hope of faring well afterwards: At least they have a Chance for it in another World, after they have been Offenders in this. Though they should be cast into the Flames of Purgatory, yet some good-natur'd and affectionate Friend may pray them out, and dispatch them forthwith to Heaven.

III. and lastly, Pray not for the Dead, but pray for yourselves; pray that you may have your Sins pardon'd, and your Persons accepted in this Life, thro' the Merits of Christ Jesus, and then (and not otherwise) you shall be receiv'd into the Eternal Mansions of Glory in the Life to come.



CHAP. X.

Of Extreme Unction.



IT is well known that this Ceremony is of great Repute in the Church of *Rome*, as many other Ceremonies are, but it hath also the Honour to be receiv'd by the Church as a *Sacrament*. It is peremptorily said in the Council of *Trent*, Sess. 14. "If any one shall say

“ that Extreme Unction is not truly and properly a
 “ Sacrament instituted by our Lord Christ, and pub-
 “ lish’d by the blessed Apostle St. James, but is only
 “ a Rite receiv’d from the Fathers, or an human
 “ Invention, let him be Anathema.” And again,
 “ If any one shall say that the sacred Anointing of the
 “ Sick doth not confer Grace, nor remit Sins, nor
 “ comfort the Sick, but is now ceas’d, as if it were
 “ heretofore the Gift of Healing only, let him be
 “ Anathema.” And not only by this Council, but
 by the unanimous Consent of the Divines of the Ro-
 man Church this Sacrament is voted to be of Divine
 Institution, as being grounded on what is said by the
 Evangelist St. Mark, Ch. vi. v. 13. and by the Apo-
 stle St. James, Ch. v. v. 14, 15.

All therefore that I shall undertake, and that very
 briefly, is to prove that there is no real Ground in
 the foresaid Texts to build the Doctrine of Extreme
 Unction upon.

In the first Text which they alledge it is said con-
 cerning the Apostles, who were sent out by our Sa-
 viour to confirm his Doctrine by Miracles, *that they*
anointed with Oil many that were sick, and heal’d them.
 Where ’tis plain that this Anointing used by the Apo-
 stles was a *miraculous* Action; but how doth this ap-
 pertain to the Anointing which the Church of Rome
 pleads for, seeing the Gift of *Miracles* is not pretend-
 ed to now in the Church? Besides, with what Shew
 of Reason can they found their Anointing the Sick
 on this Example of the Apostles, who *heal’d* those
 that they anointed (for the Anointing was in order
 to Healing,) whereas there is no such Effect that ac-
 companies the Anointing that is in Use in the Church
 of Rome, for there is not one in a thousand that re-
 covers after this Anointing? Nay indeed, this Cere-
 mony is not made use of by the Roman Priests, un-
 less in a desperate Case, that is, when the sick Person
 is given over as incurable. Tho’ they confess that it
 was the *End* and *Design* of this Anointing to procure
 Health,

Health, and that it was instituted and appointed for that very Purpose, yet they use it when they believe the Person is past all Hopes of Recovery, and when they think it is certain that he will die. What Relation then hath the Practice of these Men to what the Apostles did in their Days, and how is it possible from the forecited Text to prove the Reasonableness of the Anointing, which is so cried up by the *Romanists*? I take this to be a satisfactory Answer to what is alledg'd by them from that Text.

The other Text is in *Jam. v. 14, 15*. *Is any Man sick among you? let him call for the Elders of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with Oil in the Name of the Lord, and the Prayer of Faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up, and if he hath committed Sins, they shall be forgiven him.* The plain Account of which Text is, that it speaks (as the other before cited) concerning the Gift of Healing, which was one of the miraculous Endowments in those Days. This Anointing here spoken of is a Rite that was us'd at that time in the Christian Church for the Cure of the Sick, when it was join'd with the *Prayer of Faith*, that is, an earnest begging of this bodily Blessing, and a Believing that the Prayer should be heard. We are here expressly told that the great End and Design of the Anointing was to *save the Sick*, that is, to cure him of his Disease, as the Word *σωζεν* and *σωζειν* signifies in *Matt. ix. 21, 22. Mark vi. 56.* and in other Places. And the next Words prove this, *The Lord shall raise him up*, that is, shall heal him of the bodily Malady that he labours under, and restore him to his former Health. But no such thing is intended by the Unction used in the *Roman Church* (as was said before) for they use it only when the sick Person is dying, and when there are no Hopes of Recovery. It is well known that they use it as a *Viaticum* to those that are departing out of the World. Which evidently shews, that 'tis utterly impossible to ground the *Extreme Unction* of the Papists

Papists on this Text of St. *James*, which we see speaks of an Unction that was attended with the certain Recovery of the diseased Person : to which was adjoin'd Remission of Sins, that is, of those Sins more especially which were the chief Cause why Sickneſs was inflicted on him.

The ſhort is, there was ſuch a Practice in the Primitive Church, before Miracles were ceas'd, as Anointing the Sick, and it was made uſe of with good Succeſs : Thus * one of the Antients informs us, that one *Proculus*, a Chriſtian, cured *Severus* the Emperor by anointing him with Oil. But now when the miraculous Gift of Healing is no longer in uſe in the Chriſtian Church, there is no Warrant to uſe this Ceremony, much leſs is there any Reason to make it a Sacrament, as the Papiſts preſume to do. Yea, their Preſumption is plainly ſeen in this, that they have no Example in Antiquity (which at other times they pretend to) to vouch them. There is not one of the Writers of the Church in the firſt Ten Centuries that ſpeaks one Syllable of this Extreme Unction, though they had Occaſion to do it, if there had been any ſuch thing ; for they frequently treat of the Sacraments, and of the Rites and Uſages of the Church ; which ſhews that it is an Innovation.

I refer the Reader to that excellent Writer, Mr. *Daillé, de Extremâ Unctione*, where all that can poſſibly be ſaid on this Subject is with exquisite Learning and Judgment deliver'd.

* Tertullian, *ad Scapulam*.



CHAP. XI.

Of Merits and Works of Supererogation.

THE Point we are next to handle is the Popish Doctrine of *Merits*, which in short is this, that by the Good Works which Men perform, they do merit more Grace here, and everlasting Happiness hereafter. It can't be denied, or so much as doubted whether this be the Sense of the *Roman Church*: for it is positively asserted by the Council of *Trent*, that **the good Works of Justified Persons do truly deserve Eternal Life*. And he that dares hold the contrary is anathematiz'd: for these are the Words of the Council, † *If any Man shall say, that the good Works of a justified Person are so the Gifts of God, that they are not the justified Person's Merits, or that the justified Person doth not truly deserve Increase of Grace, Eternal Life, and Increase of Glory, by those good Works which he doth by the Grace of God and Merits of Christ, let him be Accursed.*

It is true, they distinguish between *Merits*, and assert a twofold kind of *Merit*; that of *Congruity*, and that of *Condignity*. The former is, when the Reward is only due for what is meet or congruous, not from what in Justice may be challenged and demanded. It is that which depends on the Divine Goodness and on God's Promise, namely that he will compensate our good Works, and so he hath made himself our Debtor. This *Merit*, tho' it answers not fully to the Recompence, yet it carries some Consideration with

* Sess. 6. c. 16.

† Sess. 6. can. 31.

it; and the Works, that belong to it, deserve somewhat, as the *Prodigal's* humble Demeanour to his *Father* might be said to merit of him to treat him so kindly. This is the Merit of *Congruity*, which the *Roman* Doctors talk of, and which is built chiefly on the Bounty and good Will of God. The other Sort of Merit, namely that of *Condignity*, is, when the Reward is due to our Works out of Right and strict Justice. For the *Romanists* hold, that Good Works have the Nature and Worth of Merit, not only from the Ordination and Acceptance of God, but from the intrinsic Value of them. *Bellarmino* is peremptory, that **Our Good Works merit Eternal Life, not merely by Virtue of God's Covenant or Acceptation, but also by Reason of the Work itself.* And with him *Cajetan* and other Writers of the *Roman* Church agree. They hold, that our Merit proceeds from the Nature of our Works, as they are adequate to the eternal Reward, as they are proportionate to the Recompence. This is truly and properly to *Merit*, when there is a Proportion and Equality of the Work and the Wages. Now the Wages are due, not from Promise and Bounty, but from a Debt of Justice.

The Papists farther hold, that an unregenerate Man by what he doth may merit *ex congruo*: but a Regenerate Man merits eternal Life by his Works *ex condigno*. Merit of *Congruity* is before Grace; Merit of *Condignity* is after Grace. The one is upon good Works done by a Man's free Will without the Assistance of Grace; the other is upon good Works done from the free Will help'd by Grace. The former is attributed to the Works of the Person who is to be justified, the Works which dispose a Man for Justification: the latter is ascribed to the Works of him who is already justified.

This is the Sentiment of the Church we contend with: And under this Distinction of *Merit de Con-*

* *De Justific. l. 5. c. 17.*

gruo and *de Condigno* you may observe, that Good Works are proclaim'd to be meritorious these three ways; first, because of God's *Covenant* and *Promise*; secondly, because of the *intrinsic Excellency* of the Works themselves; and thirdly, because of the *just Proportion* between the Work and the Reward. Some of the Popish Writers add a fourth, because of Grace, a supernatural Principle in Men's Hearts; others subjoin a fifth, because of Christ's Merits: for they say that Christ hath merited for the Saints a Power of Meriting. On some or all of these Accounts it is affirm'd that Heaven is due to their Works.

We assert the contrary, and hold that even the Best of Men merit not at all. None can properly merit, where all is by Grace and Bounty; none can be said to merit by Works that have some Defect in them that flurs their otherwise inward Worth. None can merit by those Deeds which bear no Proportion to an Eternal Recompence, as the best Deeds do not. None can merit by a supernatural Principle, or Righteousness; that being not their own. Lastly, 'tis improper and absurd to say, we merit by Christ's Merits: for I shall shew that that is against the very Nature of Merit. Justly therefore I deny, that there is *Any Merit in us*; we can no ways deserve Pardon of Sin or Eternal Life, either for ourselves or others: the latter of which the Papists insist upon, and tell us that there are such meritorious Works as *supererogate*, and serve not only for themselves, but for others too. But we renounce Merit of all sorts: and we have such convincing *Reasons* and *Arguments* for it as these, *viz.* there can be no Merit, because I. what we do is a Debt. II. 'Tis short even of what we owe. III. What we do is not our own, but from God. IV. There is no Proportion between our Work and what God bestows on us.

I. There is no such thing as *Merit*, for what we do is a *Debt*. The Service we perform to God is but what is due to him. But Merit cannot be ascribed

to a Person that pays a due Debt. This is plainly express'd by our Saviour in *Luke xvii. 10.* *When ye shall have done all these things that are commanded you, say, we are unprofitable Servants, we have done that which was our Duty to do.* Tho' we may be truly said to be profitable in respect of our selves and others, (for by what we do we may further our own Salvation, and that of others) yet no Man is profitable to God. By reason of his infinite Perfection, it is impossible, that he should stand in need of us or our Services. *Can a Man be profitable unto God, as he that is wise may be profitable unto himself? Is it any Pleasure (that is, any profitable Pleasure) to the Almighty, that thou art righteous? or is it Gain to him, that thou makest thy Ways perfect? Job xxii. 2, 3.* And again, *If thou be righteous, what givest thou him? Or what receiveth he of thy Hand? Chap. xxxvii. 7.* In which Sense the Psalmist may be understood, *My Goodness (saith he) extendeth not to thee, Ps. xvi. 2.* there is no Profit redounds to thee by any Action (though never so good and laudable) that I am able to perform. All which interprets our Saviour's Words that I cited before, and confirms us in this Truth, that in regard of God, no good Work of ours can be said to be profitable. For I suppose no sober Man will give heed to *Bel-larmine's* Comment on the Words, which is this; Christ indeed bids us say, that we are *unprofitable Servants*, that is, he teaches us to be humble, but he doth not affirm that we are unprofitable Servants. This is the usual Guise of the Popish Commentators and Expositors of Scripture; they make it their Practice to pervert the plain Text, that they may establish their own Opinions. But it is most evident, that this Clause of the Words is to be understood as *Affirmative* and *Affertory*; for we find it thus explained by what immediately follows, *We have done that which was our Duty to do.* As much as to say, it is clear that we are all of us *unprofitable Servants*, in respect of the Great God whom we serve, because all

all that we can do is but our bounden Duty, and no more. Our best Actions are a Debt due to him, and therefore they cannot be meritorious.

Which shews the Vanity of the Doctrine of *Supererogation*: for, according to the Church of *Rome*, Works of *Supererogation* are such Works as we are not bound to do, and consequently such as we have no Command for. For they distinguish between *Counsels* and *Commands*, and hold that the former are of things that we may do or not do, but the latter are of those which we are bound to do. It is not to be absolutely denied, that some of the Fathers acknowledg'd, that there are some *Counsels* in Scripture, as to abstain from some things lawful, on certain Occasions; for a Minister to take no Stipend, but to preach the Gospel freely: to abstain from Marriage in Time of Persecution. But none of these, nor any other Instances, which are wont to be mention'd, are *Evangelical Counsels*, in the Sense of the *Papists*: for if they be good Actions, they are commanded either in general, or particularly, either expressly, or implicitly. We may do something which God hath not enjoin'd expressly as to the *Manner* of it: but there is no Work or Duty a Christian is to do, but it is commanded in general, and as to the *Substance* of the Action, tho' not to the *individual Circumstances* of it. I am commanded to give to the poor and needy, but 'tis not enjoin'd what *particular Quantity* of my Money or Goods I am to give. But what is this to the *Papists* Doctrine, namely, that something may be *superadded* to all that is requir'd of us by God in the Gospel; and this superadded Work may be available to those who do not such things as are commanded, yea, who act contrary to the Command.

We are sure of the Truth of this Proposition, that there is no good Work but what God hath commanded; there is oftentimes a particular Injunction, but always a general one, upon which every good Action is founded; and therefore we may conclude, that

that Works not commanded by God are not to be done by us. If we hold the contrary, we must assert that Men may be more perfect than God hath will'd and commanded; yea, that we may be more perfect than we are able to be: for God commands us to love him *with all our Heart, with all our Soul, and with all our Strength*; and it is impossible we should do more than this. The Righteousness of *Angels* consists only in doing what God enjoins them to do, *Pf. ciii. 20. They do his Commandments, heark'ning unto the Voice of his Words.* But, it seems, the Perfection of a *Monk*, or *Frier*, is above that of *Angels*; he pretends to do more than is any where commanded by God: yea, he hath such a Superfection of good Works, that he can merit for others as well as for himself. If a Papist *marries a publick and common Strumpet, and doth it knowingly and designedly, with a charitable Purpose to convert her, he thereby purchases Remission of his Sins, and it is probable of her's too: for herein he doth an Act of Charity, which is a *Good Work*, and this *Good Work* is *nowhere commanded*, therefore it being a *Work of Supererogation*, it is highly *Meritorious*. This is the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*.

Some think, that the *Romanists* do *Judaize* here (as they do in many other things): for the *Jews* distinguish'd Men into three Ranks, namely, the *Reshagim*, that is, the Impious, who transgress'd the Law; the *Tsadikim*, the Just and Righteous, who punctually kept the Law; and the *Chasidim*, the Holy or Good Men, who did more than the Law requir'd of them, and supererogated: and of this Sort were the *Pharisees*. Whatever this conceited Sect did, we are certain that it is unbecoming *Christianity*, yea, it is inconsistent with it to nourish this *Pharisaick* Temper. It is blasphemous to talk of the *Overplus* of Good Works and Merits, and consequently

of Works of *Supererogation*. These are to be found in Christ Jesus only : for he fulfill'd the Law, and by his Divine Nature merited more than Man's perfect Obedience could have done. He and he alone it was, that did those things which he was not bound to do. But this cannot be said of any mere Man : what we do is but what we are oblig'd in Duty to do. All our good Works become *due* on Account of the Nature of the things themselves, and by Reason of the Command. Where then is *Merit*, where is *Supererogation* ? This Case is plainly determin'd in that Parable in *Matt. ix.* of the *Master and Servant*, *Doth he thank his Servant, because he did the things which were commanded him ? I trow not.* Luk. xvii. 9. If God challenges Obedience of us as a *Debt*, can we deserve any thing of him by the *Payment* of it ? No certainly. I will shut up this first Head with the Words of our Church, **Voluntary Works besides, over, and above God's Commandments, which they (i. e. the Papists) call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without Arrogance and Impiety. For by them Men declare that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his Sake than of bounden Duty is requir'd : whereas Christ saith plainly, When ye have done all that is commanded to you, say, we are unprofitable Servants.*

II. Our Service is *short of what is due*, and therefore it cannot carry *Merit* with it. If we could arrive to the Height of Performance, it is no more than what is requir'd of us, as I have shew'd in the foregoing Particular : but alas ! we come not up to that ; we do not what is our very *Duty* to do. We are indebted to God, but we never make full Payment ; we are always in Arrears. Yea, our Pay is not only short, but it is too often in bad Coin. Our best Works are not only imperfect, but mix'd and allay'd with Sin. So that if they may be said to *deserve* any thing, it is

Punishment. This that good and pious Father had a true Sense of, when he said, * *If God should deal with us according to what we have deserv'd, he would find nothing but what he might condemn*; and when he spake thus in another Place, † *Woe be to the most commendable Life that any Persons can live, if it comes to be examin'd and sifted without some merciful Allowance.* Alas! we have no Cause to plead *Merit*, when we are such *weak and sinful Creatures*, that our best and holiest Actions are stain'd with some Defect or Defilement: insomuch that we stand in need of Mercy and Pardon. Therefore observe what hath been the Language of all Holy Men, *We do not present our Supplications before thee for our Righteousness, but for thy great Mercies*, Dan. ix. 18. *Have Mercy upon me, O Lord, O save me for thy Mercies Sake*, Ps. vi. 2. *If thou, Lord, should'st mark Iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand? but there is Forgiveness with thee*, Ps. cxxx. 3, 4. *Enter not into Judgment with thy Servant: for in thy Sight shall no Man be justified*, Ps. cxliii. 2. *Who can say, I have made my Heart clean, I am pure from my Sins?* Prov. xx. 9. *I know nothing by my self, yet am I not hereby justified*, 1 Cor. iv. 4. *Not by Works of Righteousness, but of his Mercy he saved us*, Tit. iii. 5. *In many things we offend all*, Jam. iii. 2. I appeal now to any sensible Man, whether this be the Language of those that believe any *Merit*. Or can they be thought to believe such a thing, who acknowledge that none are free from Stains and Blemishes in their Lives, who humbly confess that if God should lay Judgment to the Line, and Righteousness to the Plumbet; if he should be exact to observe what they have done amiss; if he should scan their holiest Actions, if he should criticise on their best Performances, they

* Si Deus vellet pro meritis agere, non inveniret nisi quod damnet. *August. in Psal. xciv.*

† Vix etiam laudabili hominum vita, si remota misericordia discutias eam. *Idem Confess. l. 9. c. 13.*

were not able to stand in his Presence, and abide his Judgment?

III. Whatever good Actions we do, they are not strictly *our own*, and therefore there is no *Merit* in them. If a Man could fulfil the whole Law perfectly, yet he could not *Merit*, because it is all by Strength deriv'd from another, namely, from God himself. Supposing we could live without the least Sin, and so had no need of *Pardon*, yet we cannot *deserve Heaven*, because all the Power and Ability we have to live without Sin is from God only. *Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves; but our Sufficiency is of God, 2 Cor. iii. 5. It is God that worketh in us both to will and to do, of his good Pleasure, 2 Phil. 15. I can do all things thro' Christ who strengthens me, Phil. iv. 13. Not I, but Christ, who liveth in me, Gal. ii. 20. Faith is the Gift of God, Ephes. ii. 8. and if Faith, then all other Graces likewise are given by him. And who sees not, that a free Gift and Merit are inconsistent? Very rationally therefore the Apostle expostulates in Rom. xi. 35. Who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed to him again? If we gave something first to God, then we might merit: but we have nothing of our own to give him, therefore we can't engage him to recompense us. We cannot challenge any Reward of him for our good Works, who gave us Power to do them. I will add but one Text more, and that one is a sufficient Confutation of Merit, 1 Cor. iv. 7. What hast thou, that thou didst not receive; now, if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not receiv'd it? We cannot glory and boast of meriting any thing from God, seeing we receive all that we have from him.*

And this was the Sense of the Primitive Writers, * *We must glory in nothing, saith the excellent Cyprian, because nothing is Ours. Which is a Sentence often*

commended by St. *Augustine*. It is no uncommon Saying among the Fathers, *When God rewards us, he crowns his own Gift*, and Reason and Divinity teach us this. He is a foolish *Servant* that is proud of his *Master's Goods*. We might justly be charg'd with the same Folly, if we should insolently pretend to merit by what is not our own, but what we have receiv'd from our great Master. To beat down this arrogant Conceit in the *Judaizing Christians*, the Apostle St. *Paul* in several of his Epistles lets them know that the Foundation of Righteousness and Happiness is in the good *Pleasure, Grace, and Mercy* of God. Nothing can be done without the divine Assistance; Man is unable to keep the Law; all is perform'd by another's Strength and Aid. This he frequently urges, and thereby destroys the Notion of Merit, and shews the Vanity of those, who presume to glory in their Works and Performances. For this is undoubtedly requir'd to *Merit*, that the Action no ways proceeds from the Person from whom we expect a Remuneration. Here then we see an irrefragable Argument against the Doctrine of Merit. There can be no such thing, because God gives us Strength to do those Actions which are acceptable to him: And if we do them by his Strength, then the Praise of the Action must be given to him, and not to us.

IV. Unto *Merit* is requir'd that there be a *Proportion between the Actions and the Reward*. And this is that which *Bellarmino* himself acknowledges, **There must be, saith he, an absolute Equality between the Recompence and the meritorious Deed, by way of commutative Justice*. But if we consider the Matter aright, we shall be compell'd to confess, that there is no such Equality between the best Actions we can do and that Eternal Life which is promis'd to us; unless we can make it good that there is an Equality between God and Man; between what is absolutely perfect, and

what is on many Accounts imperfect; and that there is a Proportion between finite and Infinite. If we can bring ourselves to believe this, then we may hope to persuade ourselves that *Merit* attends our Actions. But no Man can on rational Grounds believe any such thing as this: for there is an infinite Disproportion between the Creature and the Creator, and between the poor and mean Service that we can do, and the immense Rewards which we are ascertain'd of. What are all our Works to that great Glory which we expect thro' the free Grace and Bounty of Heaven? What are our Pepper-corns to those vast Sums which we should pay? Wherefore 'till we can prove that our Works are commensurate and adequate to the eternal Recompences of another Life, which are the Result of the mere Bounty of our indulgent and compassionate Father, let us not act so absurdly as to pretend Merit. And as for our *Sufferings* (which come under the general Notion of *Doings*) there is not the least Proportion between them and the infinite Reward which follows them, and consequently there is no Merit in them. The Apostle presents it not as an uncertain Opinion, but lays it down as an undeniable Conclusion, that there is no Equality betwixt our Affliction and our Glory. *Rom. viii. 18. I reckon* (saith he, λογίζομαι, *i. e.* after a close Reasoning and Conferring with my self I find it Rational to infer; or [as the Word at other times signifies] *I think and meditate* on this; I fix this on my Thoughts, and would have you to do so too) *that the Sufferings of this present Life are not worthy to be compar'd with the Glory that shall be reveal'd in us.* Whatever Difficulties we can undergo in this transitory Life, are no ways adequate to the Rewards of an endless Life; they bear no Proportion to the everlasting Blessedness of the other World.

Thus I have argued from the *True Nature and Notion of Merit*, and have shew'd, that if we understand this, it is impossible we should hold that our

Good Works, be they never so Great and Heroick, are Meritorious.

But our Adversaries, to uphold the contrary Doctrine, produce several Texts of Scripture, and first, those where Eternal Life is call'd *Wages*, as in *Matt. v. 12. x. 42. Luke vi. 35. 1. Cor. iii. 8.* for the Greek Word is *μισθός*, that is, *Wages*, tho' we translate it *Reward*. Now, the Argument runs thus, If Eternal Life be *Wages*, then Good Works may properly be said to *merit*; but Eternal Life is *Wages*; therefore Good Works are meritorious. * *Bellarmino* triumphs in this Syllogism, and thinks it carries the Cause without Control. But if we weigh it well, we shall think otherwise; for tho' we grant the *Minor*, it being grounded on those Places of Scripture before-mention'd, yet the Consequence of the *Major* is faulty; for it doth not follow, that, because God promises *Wages* to good Works, therefore they *merit*. This I will make evident from these following Particulars,

1st. *Wages* and *Merit* are not necessarily Relatives. As is clear from *Matt. xx. 8.* where we read that the Lord of the Vineyard said to his Steward, Call the Labourers, and give them their Hire, or *Wages*; for 'tis the same Greek Word that was used in the fore-named Texts, and was rendred *Reward*. But we see that this Word hath no Relation at all to *Merit*; for this *Hire* or *Wages* were given to them that labour'd but one Hour, and so were not worthy of it, as was rightly suggested by the other murmuring Labourers who had born the Burthen and Heat of the Day, and yet receiv'd but a Penny. This Parable then plainly shews that *Wages* have not a necessary Connection with *Merit*.

2^{dly}. It shews that this Word doth not always signify an Equality between the thing done and the Pay, and consequently cannot be applied to *Merit*, which necessarily implies that the Work and the Reward are

adequate, as hath been said before. Here the Labourers are said to receive their *Wages*, and yet we find that there was an *Inequality in their Work*; whence we undeniably gather, that the *Work* and the *Wages* of all the Labourers were *not equal*, notwithstanding the *Wages* is said to be given to them all. Thus Heaven is our *Wages*, tho' there be *no Proportion and Equality* between our Works and so great a Reward.

3^{dly}. In other Places of Holy Writ (which must agree with those before-mention'd) our best Works are represented as Services that are *due* to God. All that we can act in the Discharge of our Consciences and leading a holy Life is but what we *owe* to him, as I have amply shew'd before. And therefore the Term *Wages* or *Hire* must not be understood in the strict Sense, and consequently it favours not the Doctrine of Merit: for where is a *Debt*, there all *Merit* is quite taken away. We first receiv'd all from the Divine Bounty, and thereupon we owe all to it: wherefore the Reward is of Grace, not of Debt: we do that which we are *bound* to do, but God in rewarding us doth that which he is *not bound* to do. What we perform we owe to God, but what he confers he did not owe to us. Those Mansions, which Good and Holy Persons shall be receiv'd into after this Life, are bestow'd upon them out of mere Favour and Bounty. But God having *promis'd* unto us Heaven, if we believe in Jesus Christ and live holy Lives, he is pleas'd indeed to make himself a *Debtor* to us by his *Word* and *Promise*, and not otherwise.

4^{thly}. The Short of all is this, that Eternal Life is call'd *Wages*, not in the rigid and most proper Meaning, but only by way of *Similitude* and *Analogy*, because as the Servant, or Labourer, when his Work is done, receives his *Wages*; so we persevering in our Duty shall at last be made blessed and happy by the Reward which we shall receive from our gracious Master. *Wages* is taken for what is *consequent on the Work*; it only expresses to us the *glori*, the *Relation*, and

and *Connection*, that is between the Work and the Reward. This is the true Meaning of the Word in the Stile of Holy Scripture : and therefore it is impossible to prove *Merit* from it.

But what shall we say to those Texts which speak of the *Worthiness* of the Saints ? as *2 Thess. i. 5. That ye may be counted worthy of the Kingdom of God* ; and *Rev. iii. 4. for they are worthy*. Which is as much as to say, they merit. The Answer to this is manifold ; first, there is a *comparative Worthiness* in the Saints ; in Respect of other Men, who are wicked and ungodly, they may be said to be meritorious, tho' absolutely speaking they are not so. Secondly, Godly Men have a real Dignity and Excellency. Thirdly, Good and holy Works are in their Nature worthy and excellent. Fourthly, the Saints are worthy, and are accounted worthy of the Kingdom of Heaven, because of God's gracious Acceptance of them and their Performances thro' Jesus Christ. They are not worthy of themselves, but by Grace. This gives them all their Worth and Fitness for Glory and Happiness : therefore they can't merit from God by it.

Again, the *Romanists* make use of those Places of Scripture, where God is said to reward Men according to their Works, *Matt. xvi. 27. and to render to every Man according to his Deeds*, *Rom. ii. 6. to give to every Man according as his Work shall be*, *Rev. xxii. 12.* and many other Places both in the Old and New Testament may be produced to this Purpose. Whence it is argued that God rewards Men according to the Proportion of their Works, and that implies *Merit*. I say, No such thing : for 'tis no where said that we are rewarded for our Works, but according to our Works, which signifies these two things, 1. That Men shall receive of God according to the Quality of their Works ; that is, if they be good, a Reward shall be given to them out of God's free Grace : but if they be evil, a Punishment shall be inflicted, as of Debt. 2. With Respect to Good Works it is signified,

that

that these are the Conditions of Eternal Life; that is, they are those things, *without which* no Man shall see the Lord. But it is not in the least implied in this or the other Meaning of the Words, that good Works are a meritorious Cause of Eternal Life.

Some alledge *Psal. vii. 8. Judge me, O Lord, according to my Righteousness, and according to mine Integrity that is in me,* and imagine this to be a Proof of the Psalmist's Merit. But this Imagination will soon vanish, if they consider that the Righteousness of his Cause, not of his Person, is here meant. As to his acting against Saul and other Enemies, he was innocent: but otherwise he was a great Sinner, and therefore pleads not his Righteousness, but wholly disclaims it, and flies to the Mercy and Grace of God, *Psal. cxxx. 3. Psalm cxliii. 2.* And thus we must interpret *Psal. xviii. 24.*

It is farther said by the Writers of the *Romish* Church, that there cannot be a fairer Text for the Meritoriousness of good Works than *2 Thess. i. 6, 7.* *It is a righteous thing with God to recompense not only Tribulation to them that trouble you, but to you, who are troubled, Rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be reveal'd from Heaven.* Whence, say they, it appears, that the future Reward of Eternal Life is given by God's *Righteousness and Justice*; and he would be *unrighteous and unjust*, if he should withhold the Reward: therefore it is a Sign that we *merit* it. The satisfactory Reply to which is this, that if we rightly understand in what Sense God is here said to be *Just and Righteous* in bestowing an Eternal Reward on his Servants, we shall then see that there is no Ground for *Merit* in these Words. We must know then that it may be truly said that the Eternal Reward proceeds from God as he is *Just*, because, tho' he might have requir'd good Works without promising Eternal Life, yet having covenanted and promised, the Reward may be said to be an Act of *Justice*; namely, the Justice of *Truth* on God's Part, not from any Merit on

on ours. This is explain'd by what St. *John* saith, 1 *Ep.* i. 9. He is faithful and just to forgive us our Sins; not but that Forgiveness of Sins is from free Grace and Bounty: but a Promise of Forgiveness being made, the Performance of it becomes a due Debt, and, on that Account, God is rightly said to be *Just* and *Faithful* in forgiving our Sins. But tho' God's Promise obliges him to do this, yet we can't infer from thence that he whose Sins are forgiven *deserves* this Favour. So it is here; God hath promis'd Eternal Life, therefore he is said to be *Just* or *Righteous* in actually conferring it on the Faithful: but there is no Reason to infer thence that they *merit* this Reward. For, it being by Promise, we may conclude that it was not founded on Merit, because the Promise was Free, and by Grace, and depended wholly on God's good Pleasure: and therefore if he had promis'd no Reward to our Works, he had not been *Unjust*. But now having promis'd, he cannot go from it, he is oblig'd to keep his Word: and therefore he would be *Unjust*, if he did not reward the Faithful. Thus we see that the Almighty hath laid an Obligation on himself to reward the Obedience of the Godly; but it doth not follow thence, that they *deserve* that Reward: for the Promise of the Reward proceeds not from the Worth of the Obedience, but merely from the Grace and Good Will of God.

Besides these *Objections* from *Scripture*, it is argued thus by some Papists, Christ hath merited that we may merit, and therefore we merit by his Merits. To which I answer, the contrary is true; namely, that Christ merited, that we might not merit, and because we cannot merit. And 'tis certain that to join the Merits of Christ and ours, is blasphemous. Yea, and it destroys the Merits of Christ; for if we can merit, there is no Need of the Merits of Christ. But some come upon us again thus; Our good Works are done by Christ's Power and Assistance, therefore they merit. But this is easily retorted; Tho' they are done
by

by Divine Power, yet they are *our Act* too, and therefore they can't merit, because as they come from *us*, there is some Imperfection attends them.

Some Popish Writers put the Argument into another Shape, thus, Christ's Merits are imputed to Christians, and so they may be said to merit by this imputed Merit; for if Christ's own Righteousness and Merits be imputed to them, they are as righteous and meritorious as Christ. I deny this Consequence, and for this good Reason, because there is a great Difference between Christ's Righteousness as it is *in him*, and as it is *in us*: in him it was Originally, in us Derivatively: and therefore Christ's Righteousness imputed to us doth not render us as Righteous as Christ, and consequently we cannot merit by his Merits made ours by Imputation. And farther, Christ was God as well as Man, but the Righteousness of his Divinity is not imputed to us, though that of his Humanity be; which makes a great Difference between Christ's Righteousness and ours. In short, tho' Christ's Merits are made over to us when we are justified, yet this can't make us *meritorious*, and we can't properly and strictly be said to *deserve*, because this making over of his Merits is Christ's own Act, and it is a Free and Gracious Act, and therefore by the transferring of his Merit to us, which we could not challenge, it is impossible we should *properly merit*.

But lastly, it is objected that the *Antient Latin Fathers* do frequently use the Words *Merit*, and *to Merit*, and therefore the Popish Doctrine of *Merit* hath *Antiquity* to vouch it. I answer,

First, It is never the better for that; for some of the Fathers in those times inclin'd to some Part of that which at this Day we call *Popery*. This is that which I have more than once acknowledg'd, but it doth not authorize or legitimate any of the Popish Doctrines or Practices. I answer,

Secondly,

Secondly, Tho' at first the Verb *mereri* among the *Latins* signified to do something for which a Retribution or Recompence might be demanded (thus Soldiers were said *Stipendia mereri*) yet afterwards when the *Latin* Tongue and Purity decay'd, *mereri* came to denote no more than *consequi, adipisci aliquid*; and in this Sense it is generally taken among the *Fathers*, and signifies no more than to *obtain* or *compass* a thing. And in this qualified Meaning we may be now said to *merit*. But what Need is there of using the Word, seeing it is liable to Mistake, seeing it is forced and improper, and seeing it hath no Affinity with the Scripture Stile?

I add thirdly, that the Word [*Merit*] might be allow'd of, as it barely refers to any Work or Action that hath a Reward to follow it. Thus the Word is often us'd in the Antient Writers, and that innocently. Antiquity is us'd to say that there is a certain *Worth and Merit* of the Good Works of the Just; but the Meaning is only, that they are acceptable and well-pleasing to God, and thro' his Goodness and Bounty shall meet with a Reward. This is the true Account of the Word, as it is often us'd in the Writings of the Antients; and thence no Man can possibly infer their Allowance of the Doctrine of Merits, as it is held in the Church of *Rome*. For, properly speaking, and in the Sense of the *Papists*, that is, by doing such and such Works, we truly deserve of God to be recompensed with infinite Glory and Happiness, and that likewise our superabundant Worth is treasur'd up for the Use of others, in this Sense, I say we cannot be said to *merit*, and it is dangerous and blasphemous to apply the Word in this Manner.

Let us now make some *Inferences* and *Conclusions*, from the Premises. And first, let us establish our Minds in the Belief of this Truth, that none can merit any thing of God, that we cannot demand a Right to Happiness by our best Works. We ought to prize these Words of a good pious Archbishop of

Canterbury,

Canterbury, * "If a Man, saith he, should serve God
" a thousand Years, and that with the greatest Zeal,
" *non meretur ex condigno* (those are his very Words)
" yet he doth not worthily deserve to be in the King-
" dom of Heaven so much as Half a Day." It is
plain he was fix'd in this great Gospel-Verity, that
the Reward of pious Souls is not of Debt, but of
Grace.

Secondly, Let not this be our Persuasion only, but
let us Act according to it, and renounce all Merit,
and acknowledge that all is from Grace. And the
rather, because we are so apt to be proud and self-
conceited: We are naturally inclin'd to arrogate to
ourselves, and to boast of what we have done, and
what we have suffer'd, tho' it be never so small. It
was the Language of the assuming Disciples, *We have
forsaken all and follow'd thee, what shall we have there-
fore?* Matt. xix. 27. And what did they forsake? a
few Boats and Nets, and such poor mean things which
were not worth the mentioning. But this is our na-
tural Disposition, to speak arrogantly of our own
Actions, and to expostulate with God about our Re-
ward, and to think we merit at his Hands. The more
watchful therefore ought we to be over ourselves, the
more earnestly should we strive against this corrupt
Inclination. If the Blessed Saints in Heaven *fall down
before him that sits on the Throne, and worship him that
liveth for ever and ever, and cast their Crowns before
the Throne, saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive
Glory, and Honour, and Power,* Rev. iv. 10, 11. If thus
the Church Triumphant attributes nothing to them-
selves, but all to God, then surely it becomes us much
more, who are in a State not free from Imperfection
and Sin, to disclaim all Deserts in ourselves, and upon
a Review of the best Actions which we could ever do,
to rely wholly on Jesus and his Righteousness, as if we
had not done one good Work all our Days.



CHAP. XII.

Of Praying and Officiating in an Unknown Tongue.

THE Publick Acts and Offices of Religious Worship are such as these, viz. Prayer, with giving of Thanks, Administration of the Sacraments, Reading the Scriptures, Singing of Psalms, Preaching the Word. And there seems to be no Reason to deny that all these solemn Exercises of Religion ought to be perform'd with Knowledge and Understanding, and consequently in a Known Tongue: that is, the *Prayers of the Church* ought to be in a Language that the People understand; the *Sacraments* must be so likewise; the *Holy Scriptures* are to be translated into the Mother-Tongue, and read therein; and *Preaching* and *Singing* must be in such a Language as is known to the Hearers and Singers. But there is a Party of Men who dislike this, or the greatest Part of it: for tho' they stand not much on Singing or Preaching in ordinary Assemblies, yet as for the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and Praying in the Church, and Administring the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, they are unwilling that *these* should be expos'd to the People in the Vulgar-Tongue. But on the contrary, they will have these great Acts of Religion perform'd wholly in an *Unknown Language*, that is, in a Tongue which is not understood either by the People, nay sometimes not by the Priest: for it is certain that some of the Priests themselves in the Church of *Rome* know not what they pronounce, whilst they officiate in the Service

Service of the Church : and this they account no Disgrace. Especially they think it requisite that the People be used to Prayers which they understand not, *i. e.* that they pray in *Latin*.

It is needless to stand long in proving that this is the Opinion and declared Sense of the Church of *Rome*. This may be seen in the *Decrees* of the Council of *Trent*, Sess. 22. Can. 8, 9. where also is annex'd a *Curse* (as is the usual way) on those who say that the Mass is to be celebrated only in the *Vulgar Tongue*. And 'tis well known what the constant Practice of the Church of *Rome* is ; the *Psalms* and *Hymns*, the *Liturgy* and *Forms of Prayer* are all in *Latin*, which is a *Tongue* that the *Vulgar* are ignorant of. I might annex the Opinion of the *Doctors* of the Church ; take a whole Assembly of them together, *viz.* the *Rhemish Divines*. [*It is not necessary to understand the Words of Prayer*] so say these Reverend Translators on 1 Cor. 14. They say also, that [*It is enough that People can tell that this holy Orison is appointed them by the Church.*] *More is not necessary*, they there assure us.

Now the *Protestant Churches* abhor this Doctrine, and they teach, that no Offices of Religion are to be celebrated in an unknown *Tongue*, but on the contrary that all Religious Exercises, and Acts of Worship, and particularly *Prayers* (which is the Subject I confine myself to at present) ought to be performed in that Language and Idiom which is vulgarly known and understood.

The *Reasons* and *Arguments* for this are such as these,

First, the Particular Arguing of St. Paul in 1 Cor. xiv. where he spends a good Part of this Chapter in declaiming against this Practice of the Papists : as if by a Prophetick Spirit he foresaw what those of the *Roman Persuasion* would do, and how unreasonably they would impose upon the World. The Arguments he uses against *Prophefying in an Unknown Tongue* may be applied, and with the very same Reason, to *Praying*

ing in an unknown Tongue: but the Apostle doth also particularly and expressly argue against this latter, *Y. 14, 15. If I pray in an unknown Tongue, my Spirit prays, that is, the extraordinary Gift which I am endow'd with, is exercis'd in Prayer, but my Understanding is unfruitful; that is, the Notions which I have, whilst I am praying in an unknown Tongue, are of no Use and Benefit to the Church. What is it then? I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the Understanding also: tho' I exercise my extraordinary Gift, yet I will pray so that I may be understood by others, that their Understandings may go along with what I say, namely, by interpreting it into the Vulgar Tongue. It is evident then, that the Apostle would have all Christians pray (as well as serve God in the Performance of all other Acts of Religion) with the Mind and Understanding. And he lets us know, that if we pray not with the Understanding, we pray without any Fruit and Profit, and (as he saith afterwards) without Edification.*

He adds therefore *Y. 17. Else when thou (being a Publick Minister) shalt bless with the Spirit, that is, in a Language which is not known to the People, How shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of Thanks, seeing he understands not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest Thanks well, but the other is not edified. In which Words the Apostle acquaints us, that such is the Nature of the solemn and publick Exercises of Religion, and particularly of solemn Prayers and Praises (of which he here speaks) that the whole People should give Assent to the Minister in his performing them: for he that occupieth the room of the Unlearned is the common Christian, who generally is illiterate, and unskilful in the Languages, and understands only his Mother-Tongue. Now, such Persons can't answer Amen, if they shew their Consent with the Minister's praying, unless they know what he saith, and consequently the Language he speaks in. Consent implies Understand-*
 ing.

ing. It is clear then that the People can't consent, when the Minister speaks in such a Language which none of them understands; these can't answer *Amen*, i. e. they can't yield Assent to what the Minister utters in praying to God, and praising him, if the Language he speaks be unknown to them; and consequently there is no *Edification* in such Worship as this.

The Sum of the Apostle's Argument then is this, the Publick Worship must be so carried on that the Church may be *edified*: But it can't be edified by unintelligible Prayers: for they are of no real Advantage, because the People can neither assent to them, nor be affected by them. Therefore, seeing there is no Edification in Prayers that are utter'd in a Tongue that is not understood, we must conclude them to be unlawful. Yea, the Apostle is very smart and poignant in his chastising this unreasonable and absurd Demeanour, *v. 23. If the whole Church be come together in one Place, and all speak with Tongues, that is, strange Tongues, and there come in those that are Unlearned, or Unbelievers, will they not say that you are mad? In St. Paul's Judgment they deserve to be number'd among Madmen, and Persons out of their Wits, who pray to God in an unknown Tongue.*

In the next Place I argue from our Saviour's Words, which he borrows from the Evangelical Prophet, *Matt. xv. 8, 9. This People draweth nigh to me with their Mouth, and honoureth me with their Lips, but their Heart is far from me: and it follows, in vain do they worship me.* Here we see that the bare external Performance of religious Exercises devoid of Mental Devotion and Piety is complain'd of by God, and is unacceptable to him, and is in vain, and to no Purpose. Such are the Prayers of those who understand not what they say, when they pray: and such are the Prayers of the Common People among the *Romanists*. *Ye worship ye know not what*, said our Saviour to the *Samaritans*: the like may be said of the ordinary

Popish Worshippers, they know not what they pray for; they are ignorant of the very Words which they make use of in their Addresses to the most High. This mars all their Worship, this spoils all their Devotion. For it is against the Nature of *Religion*, to be perform'd ignorantly: and particularly the *Christian Religion* is a *reasonable Service* proceeding from the Understanding and the Mind: but that Worship can't be such which is perform'd in a strange and unintelligible Language. Such Service can't be call'd *Religion*; for *This* is to be understood. It was *Philip's* Question to the Eunuch, *Understandest thou what thou readeest?* A resembling Question is fit for every Christian Worshipper to put to himself, understandest thou what thou *Prayest?* If he doth not do this, this Office of Religion is vain and useless, and hath no Virtue and Power in it.

These are the *solid Reasons* which the Doctrine of *Protestants* is founded on. I might add to these the *Antiquity* of it, with the very Confessions of our Adversaries; who own, that at the Beginning of the sixth Century *Justinian* the Emperor in his *Novels* commands all Bishops and Presbyters to celebrate all the sacred Mysteries and Offices of the Church in their Mother-Tongue. And I could produce the Suffrages of several *Fathers* and *Antient Writers* of the Church, were I not superseded by the voluntary Confession of the chief Doctors themselves of the *Roman* Communion, who are so ingenuous as to own that Praying without understanding what is pray'd was no *Primitive Usage*. It is acknowledg'd by *Lyra* and *Aquinas* on 1 Cor. xiv. 16. that the Publick Service of the Church in the first Times was in the Common Vulgar Tongue. Cardinal *Cajetan* saith as much in his Comments on that Text, and adds farther, that it would be more for the Church's Edification, if the Publick Devotions were not, as they are now, in *Latin*, but were in a Tongue as well known to the People as to the Priests. And truly the *Rhemists* in their

Annotations on the same Place confess the like. Praying in an Unknown Tongue was not the Practice of the Primitive Ages, saith another * modern Writer, a great Stickler for the Church of *Rome*. In other Points of Popery (as you have heard) the *Romanists* plead the *Antient* Usage of the Church, and they alledge the Primitive Fathers in their Defence: but here they are silent: and we find them generally submitting to this, that the Primitive Christians pray'd in their own proper Tongue: and indeed they are forced to this by reason of that plain Testimony in 1 *Cor.* xiv. It is granted, (and what is true, we shall always grant,) that whilst the *Roman Empire* flourish'd, the Prayers of the Church were in *Latin*, because at that time *Latin* was not an *Unknown Tongue* to the People. The *Roman Language* was then truly Catholick, and well known to all or most of the Christians under the *Roman Power*. But *now* to urge the Use of that Tongue, when so many Nations are ignorant of it, is ridiculous, and absurd, and void of Reason.

But let us hear how they defend their Cause, as unreasonable and extravagant as it is. First, they tell us that God looks more at the Intention in the Prayers that are put up to him, than at the Words: and therefore it is not necessary, the Words should be understood by those that utter them. I answer, it is impossible the Intention should be right, where the Prayers are unintelligible: for the Intention must be conformable to the Words, or else it is to no Purpose. Again, they tell us the Prayers are not address'd to the People, but to God, and no Speech is unknown to him, therefore 'tis not requisite we should speak to him in a Tongue that we understand. I answer, tho' the Prayers are put up by the Priest unto God only, yet the Apostle acquaints us that *Amen*, that is, a *Consent* is requir'd of the *People*: and I suppose it

will be too difficult to prove that there can be a Rational and Christian Consent without Understanding.

But still they insist, that God knows what the Priest saith, and that is enough. I answer, it is not enough for the Service of God, who in the Publick is to be worshipp'd by the *People* as well as the *Priest*: and they can't worship him without their Understanding. It is not enough that what the Priest saith is known by God, it is farther necessary that the Congregation know what he saith, because they are suppos'd to join in the Publick Prayers with the Priest. We see then that this Doctrine and Practice of the Church of *Rome* defeat the very *Design* of all *Publick* and *Solemn Meetings* of the Church. For wherefore do the People come together? What is the Reason of their Assembling? Is it not that they should join with the Minister in the Service of God? Yes surely. But according to the Judgment of the Church of *Rome* the People may stay at home, and let the *Priest* pray for them in their Absence, seeing, it seems, it is not necessary they should know what he saith; and then it is as unnecessary that they should hear it, and consequently they may as well be absent. The Intercessions and Supplications of the Priest are sufficient: and if the People should be present at them, they only come to look on, not to be interested in the Service: for they are ignorant of what is said.

Next, the Practice of the *Jews*, who return'd from the Captivity, is alledg'd: for they had forgot their own Language, and did not understand the Book of the Law which was read to them in their Publick Assemblies, and therefore the Priests gave the Sense, and caus'd them to understand the reading, Neh. viii. 8. I answer, this doth not absolutely prove that the *Jews* understood not the Language that the Law was written in, but that they understood not the Sense sometimes; and therefore it was requisite to expound it to them. The Priests paraphras'd and commented upon the Text, as Christ afterwards did, Luk. xxiv. 27, 32. in which

which latter Verse it is call'd *opening the Scriptures*. Or suppose those *Jews* had forgot their Native Tongue, and so were forc'd to have the Words of the Law interpreted to them, yet this is nothing to the present Purpose, that is, the *Prayers* of the Church: it doth not prove that the *Jews* pray'd in an unknown Tongue. If they had any set Liturgy, or Temple-Service (which is much to be question'd) the Priests translated it into the Tongue they spoke. But afterwards, when they were dispersed into several Countries and Kingdoms, and the *Hebrew* Language became strange to them, it can't be prov'd that they pray'd in *Hebrew*, which was unknown to the Vulgar. Or, if any of them did, they were faulty: and their Example is not to be made use of.

But it will be said, that the *Greek* Churches at this Day celebrate their Liturgies in the *Old Greek*, which they scarcely understand, for it differs as much from the *Modern Greek*, as *Latin* from *Italian* or *Spanish*.

I answer, 1. They are an ignorant and superstitious Sort of Christians generally, and so their Example is of no Authority. 2. In some of the Churches of the *Græcian* Communion the *Antient Greek* is not made use of in any of their Prayers.

But the Practice of the *Mahometans* is also alledg'd: for 'tis said they put up their Prayers in the *Arabick* Tongue, though 'tis not the *Vulgar* Language. To which I reply, First, The *Arabick* Tongue is known to many of them, and so their Example is alledged to no purpose. Secondly, If those that are Strangers to it make their Prayers in it, they are blameable, as well as the *Papists*.

There are other Pleas of the Church of *Rome* in Behalf of their Prayers in a strange Tongue, and a principal one is this; As the Pope's Tenure is from *St. Peter* as he was Bishop of *Rome*, and as Supremacy and Infallibility and Sanctity are intail'd on the Church of *Rome*, as 'tis the Church of *Rome*, and consequently all Privileges and Blessings are deriv'd to

other Churches as they adhere to *Rome*, so the very *Language* of *Rome* is more excellent than any other; and as every thing in the Church of *Rome* is *Holy*, so the very *Language* is superlatively *holy*, and therefore That must be us'd, and no other. All other Tongues to God are barbarous, *i. e.* if made use of in Publick Devotion. This is thought to be a great and topping Argument, and made use of by the chief Doctors of the *Roman* Church. But who sees not how weak and frivolous it is? As God is no Respector of *Persons*, so he is not of *Tongues*. There is no real Excellency in one above another, especially with respect to Devotion. Or if we could imagine any such thing, the *Holy Tongue* wherein the Divine Oracles were first endited, should have the Pre-eminence. Wherefore what is cited under this Head, is very foolish and superstitious.

Another chief Ground of the *Roman* Practice is this; this way of Worship conduces much to that *Blind Devotion* which is very serviceable to their Church. When the People pray and perform other Exercises of Religion in a dark and obscure Manner, there is no Fear of any Danger from them, they are kept from running into Heresy and Schism, for they don't know what these are. This is one Plea that the *Roman* Doctors make use of, but it is so scandalous a one, that I believe the mentioning of it is sufficient; I don't think the Reader will expect I should enlarge upon it. I will only say this, that that *Devotion* hath nothing to commend it, which leads to *Infidelity*, as it is certain *Blindness* and *Ignorance* do. And it is not unlikely that this Practice of the Papists was derived from the *Infidels*; some of whom reckon'd those Prayers which were spoken in a barbarous Language, to be most acceptable to their Gods, as *Clement* of *Alexandria* and others relate.

Let us look back now upon what hath been said, and first give a right Judgment of the Case. It appears, that Praying in an unknown Tongue is plainly disallow'd

disallow'd of and condemn'd by expresse Texts of Scripture, and by the very Notion which we have of Praying unto God, and by Primitive Practice; and we see that the Pleas which are made for it, are groundless and precarious: wherefore let us entertain due Apprehensions concerning this Matter, and not be deluded with the false Suggestions of the *Roman Church*. To which Purpose let us fix on our Memories the brief but comprehensive Words of our Church in her twenty fourth Article; "It is a thing
" plainly repugnant to the Word of God and the
" Custom of the Primitive Church, to have Publick
" Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacra-
" ments in a Tongue not understood of the People.

Secondly, Abominate the Practice of the Church of *Rome* as to this Particular. For certainly it is a most detestable thing to act in this Manner in the Worship of God; to pretend to Pray, and yet not to know what is Pray'd. It can't be said that God is worshipp'd by these Men, unless you can prove that they can worship him without the Mind and Heart: which it is not possible for any Man to do. We are therefore to abhor the Religion of those Men who declare that they need not understand one Word that they utter when they pray to God.

Thirdly and Lastly, Let not us, that are *Protestants*, so much as approach towards this Practice. As we do not directly imitate them in praying in an unknown Tongue, so let us not resemble them, and seem to come near them in any Acts of a formal and lifeless Devotion, where the Heart is wanting. Let us always take care that our Addresses to God spring from a due Knowledge of our Duty, from a sincere Principle, from right Intentions, and from Affections suitable to that solemn Employment we are exercis'd in; for these constitute our Devotion True and Real, and such as is worthy of a Christian Worshipper.

but having the Bible in their Custody. It is manifest
 that in the foregoing Discourse, I have shew'd
 the Unreasonableness of that Com-

and maintained by the learnedest Writers of that Com-
 munion, is too evident to stand in need of any Proof.
 But we, on the contrary, maintain that the Bible

CH. P. XIII.

*Of Forbidding the Scriptures to be read in
 a Known Tongue.*

IN the last Discourse I shew'd how unrea-
 sonable the Church of Rome is in suffering,
 yea in commanding Prayers in an unknown
 Tongue. Now I shall prove that it is e-
 qually unreasonable and unjust to forbid the Scriptures
 in a Known Tongue to be read by the People: which is
 the Practice of the Church of Rome. The People
 must not Pray with their Understanding, neither are
 they permitted to Read with Understanding. Ac-
 cordingly their Reading will do them as much good
 as their Praying. A Latin Service and a Latin Bible
 are alike to the Common People. But so it must be,
 the Scriptures are not to be translated into the Vul-
 gar Tongues: or if they be, they are not to be read
 of the Laity; at least, not to be granted promiscu-
 ously to every one, but only to such as the Pastors of
 the Church shall judge fit to grant this Privilege to.
 Pope Pius IV. gave leave to Bishops to grant a Facul-
 ty of reading the Scriptures translated into the known
 Tongue. So that here was a kind of Liberty given
 to read the Bible: but then you must know it was
 exceeding difficult to procure a Licence. And soon
 afterwards this Licence was taken away by the Au-
 thority of Pope Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. as we may
 see in the Index of prohibited Books put out by those
 Popes; and it was not permitted to Laymen to read
 the Bible in their own Tongue. And before this, the
 Council of Trent forbade them not only the reading,
 but

but having the Bible in their Custody. It is manifest then, that it is the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome to deny the Scriptures to the People in the Vulgar Tongue. And that this is defended and maintained by the learnedest Writers of that Communion, is too evident to stand in need of any Proof.

But we, on the contrary, maintain, that the Bible ought to be had and perused by all Christians, and that 'tis horrid Sacrilege to deprive them of it. This is that, which we constantly assert, and such Reasons as these induce us to it.

1st. The People of God under the *Mosaic* Dispensation were not only permitted, but commanded to peruse and study the Words of the Law, and to wear them on their Hands and on their Foreheads, and to write them on their Posts and on their Gates, which was in order to the reading of them, and often conversing with them, *Deut. vi. 6, &c.* This is an Injunction not given to the Priests and Levites, but to the whole Body of the People promiscuously. Which we also learn from those Words of our Saviour in *Job. v. 39.* whether we read them as a Relation of what the Jews us'd to do [*Ye search the Scriptures,*] or as a Precept shewing what they ought to do [*Search the Scriptures.*] Which Words are spoken to the Jews in general, without any particular restraining and confining them to the Priests, or Scribes, or Pharisees, the great Clerks, and learned Doctors among them. All are bid to consult these Holy Oracles, and accordingly the Jews call the Scripture *Mikra*, that is, *Reading*, because it ought to be read by all Persons.

And do we not think that the Christian Church is as much concern'd, as the Jewish, to look into that Holy Volume, especially since there is the Addition of the Evangelical and Apostolical Writings? Is not every Man now oblig'd to be acquainted with the sacred Truths of the Gospel? Is not Christ, as well as *Moses*, to be understood by us? Is it not as necessary for Christians to read the Gospel as for Jews to

read the Law? In a Word, is it not as reasonable that the *whole Canon* of sacred Scripture, the *entire Word* of God, should be expos'd to the View of all Christians indifferently as a Part of it? I think there is no rational and considerate Person, that will deny this.

2^{dly}. It is evident that the Scriptures were common to all Christians in the *Beginning* of the Christian Church, and therefore they ought to be so now. The Men of *Berea* were commended as more noble than those of *Thessalonica*, because they receiv'd the Word with all Readiness of Mind, and search'd the Scriptures daily whether those things were so, Acts xvii. 11. They not only receiv'd the Word preach'd by St. Paul, but they read and search'd the written Word, to satisfy themselves that what the Apostle deliver'd was agreeable to what they met with there. So the same Apostle tells the *Corinthian* Christians that he writes no other things unto them than what they read, 2 Cor. i. 13. than what they in perusing the Old Testament, as well as his Epistles, find to have been said before. We have, saith another Apostle, a more sure Word of Prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as to a Light shining in a dark Place, 2 Pet. i. 19. Where St. Peter commends those he writes to that they attended to the Writings of the Old Testament, and that they left them not to be studied only by the Clergy. Why then do they now so much differ from St. Peter, that boast of succeeding him? Why do they deny the Scriptures not only of the Old but New Testament to the Common People?

Again, What was the Practice of the Primitive Christians we may gather from that Apostolical Exhortation, Let the Word of Christ dwell in you richly in all Wisdom, Col. iii. 16. As much as if the Apostle had said, Let all Holy Scripture, but more especially the Evangelical Writings, be continually read and studied by you, that thereby you may gain Divine and Heavenly Wisdom. And this without doubt is implied

plied in that Injunction in 1 *Theff.* v. 2. *Prove all things*; that is, try and examine them by the Scriptures. Which is fitly join'd with the foregoing Verse, *Despise not Prophecys*; that is, embrace all Opportunities of having the Scriptures expounded and applied by the Ministers of the Gospel: for this is the right Method of arriving to true Wisdom. And now, seeing it was thus, seeing the Reading of the Scriptures was commendable and constantly practis'd at the *first Planting* of the Christian Church, surely it cannot but be commendable and fit to be still observ'd in the *propagating* and *preserving* of it.

3^{dly}. The *Use and Benefit of the Scriptures* is an undeniable Proof of the Necessity of their being often read and diligently perus'd, and that by all Persons whomsoever. *Whatsoever things were written aforetime*, by the inspired Penmen, *were written for our Learning*, Rom. xv. 4. Whatever Prophecies, whatever Doctrines, whatever Precepts, whatever Promises, whatever Threatnings, are contain'd in the sacred Writings, they are all serviceable one way or other to our Instruction and Edification: and are not these Writings then to be put into our Hands? are they not to be read with great Diligence? Yes certainly. Wherefore the Apostle had Reason to speak thus to *Timothy*, 2^d. Ep. Ch. iii. v. 14. *Continue thou in the things which thou hast learn'd from the Holy Scriptures, and hast been assured of by the same Spirit that wrote those Scriptures, knowing of whom, namely, of the Spirit speaking in the Scriptures, thou hast learned them, and that from a Child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto Salvation.* And, to explain this, he adds, *All Scripture is given by Inspiration of God, and is profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instruction in Righteousness*; that is, it is profitable for every thing, for those Terms comprehend in them all that is serviceable to our Salvation and Happiness. So that the Apostle in these Words lets us know these two things;

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I. The pious Practice of the holy Men and Women of old in the Church of God, namely, their instructing their very *Children* in the Scriptures; much more grown People are to be exercised herein. II. The Usefulness of the Scriptures, they are able to make us savingly wise, and they are profitable to all spiritual Ends and Purposes. Will not any understanding Person, upon considering all these Things, conclude that the Scriptures are to be read, and that 'tis a heinous Crime to debar the People of them, and to lock them up from publick View?

Having given the *Reasons* of our Persuasion, we might add the *Suffrage* and *Authority* which the *Antients* furnish'd us with. *Socrates*, *Chrysostom*, *Theodoret*, and our own Countryman *Bede* tell us that the Scriptures were heretofore translated into the Language of the several Inhabitants of the Countries where they were; that they might be read and heard of the People. *Chrysostom* * often calls upon his Hearers, even Laymen, to furnish themselves with Bibles, and to consult them continually. And not only he, but † other Antient Fathers interpret v. *John* 39. as a Command, and take it in the Imperative Mood, *search the Scriptures*. The rest of the Fathers are frequently on the same Subject. And indeed I don't find that the Greatest Doctors of *Rome* are averse to acknowledge that the Bible was read of old, and ought to be so, by the Christians promiscuously. It is confess'd by a great ‡ Casuist of the *Roman Church* that the Scriptures were not denied to any. And § another eminent Man among them grants that the reading of the Scriptures is profitable to the People. That the Christians before the *Reformation* had the liberty of reading the Bible in their mother Tongues, is easily proved, saith ‖ *F. Simon*,

* *Hom.* 2. in *Tim.* 2. *Tit.* 2. *Hom.* 9. in *Coloss.* 3.

† *Origen*, *Athanasius*, *Basil*, *Augustine*, *Theophylact*.

‡ *Azorius*, in *Institut. Moral.* 8. 26.

§ *Espericius* in cap. 2. ad *Tit.* || *Crit. Hist. of the Bible*,

and he gives a short Essay of it. If then there be any Weight in *Antiquity* and *Authority*, the Scriptures ought to be delivered into the Hands of the People, and they ought to be acquainted with them.

But the Church of *Rome* hath some seeming Reasons to alledge, why it teaches and practises the contrary; I will impartially examine them and return an Answer to them. First, they say, the Scripture is Holy, and therefore the Lay People have no Right to it, and one of their notablest Writers sticks not to alledge to this purpose the Words of our Saviour, *Give not that which is holy unto Dogs, neither cast ye your Pearls before Swine.* And so you see in what Esteem with them all but their Clergy are, they are rank'd among the vilest Animals. And by the by you may see how Holy a Church they have, when the greatest Part of them are Dogs and Swine. But let this suffice as a small Specimen of the Catholick Logick, *Give not holy Things unto Dogs, Ergo* the People must not be permitted to have the Scriptures. Let our Reasoning and Inferences be of another Sort, if the People be generally Unholy, than they have the more need of that Book, which will discover this their State to them, and at the same time lead them into the ways of Holiness and Righteousness.

Secondly, It is objected, that the Scriptures are obscure and hard to be understood, and on that account they are not fit for the common People. Many Things might be reply'd to this, but I will only offer this, which respects the *New Testament*. The Things which Christ spoke and did whilst he was on Earth, are the Subject of the *Gospels*: and if they were understood then by the Persons to whom they were deliver'd, there is no Reason to think that they may not be understood now, especially after the actual Accomplishment of many of the Things there spoken of. And so as to the *Epistles*, that is, what the Apostles wrote to the Churches, it was understood by those to whom it was wrote, and why then may not Christians

now understand it, especially after the fulfilling of several Passages there mention'd, and after the multitude of Expositions and Commentaries which Understanding and Holy Men of the Church have put forth upon them? wherefore 'tis unreasonable to alledge that the reading of the Scriptures must be put by, because of the Obscurity of them.

Thirdly, Another Objection against the People's reading the Scriptures is this, that it is the cause of *Errors* and *Heresies*. For silly and ignorant People are inclin'd to mistake the Sense of what they read, and to have their Judgments corrupted and perverted: whence heretical, yea and schismatical Notions will inevitably be propagated by them. To prevent this Danger, 'tis best to keep the Bible out of the Sight of those Men who will corrupt it. I answer 1st, The same Objection may be made against *Preaching*, and against all *Learning*. Because some may make ill use of the Word preach'd, and because Learning may be abus'd and perverted to evil Purposes, therefore there must be no Preaching, and all Arts and Sciences are to be laid aside. If you don't approve of this Reasoning, there is no ground for the other, namely that some by reading of the Scriptures and perverting them may fall into Errors and Heresies, therefore let not the Scriptures be read. 2^{dly}, The same Objection may be made against permitting the *Clergy* to look into the Bible: for *they* are not exempt from an Inclination to err and to be mistaken when they have the Scriptures before them. Yea, they are the Men that most of all corrupt that Holy Book, and build Errors upon it. These are the Men that have framed and set up Heresy and Schisms from the Bible. The worst Hereticks were *Priests*, as *Marcion*, *Arius*, *Macedonius*, *Nestorius*, *Pelagius*, and many more I could name. What is become then of the *Objection*, that the Scripture ought to be forbid to *Laicks*, because they would breed Heresies in them? For the same, yea far greater, reason they may be denied to the
Clergy:

Clergy: for they are more apt and more able to raise false and erroneous Conclusions out of the Scripture than the ordinary People are. 3^{dly}, The true Cause of Errors and Heresies is not the reading of the Scriptures, but the *not reading and understanding* them. We may say of Hereticks, as Christ saith of the Pharisees, *they err not knowing the Scriptures*; the cause of their Mistake is, because they attend not to the Book of God. The Ignorance of this is the great Origin of Heresy and false Notions in Religion. Therefore we may rightly turn the Argument against the Papists in this manner, seeing the People (as well as the Clergy) are apt to be seduced, and to be led into Error, the best Course they can take, is to set themselves seriously to the reading of the Scriptures.

Fourthly, Tho' it hath been confess'd (as I have shew'd already) by some of the *Romanists*, that *Authority* and *Antiquity* are against them, yet they will not forbear pleading these. Accordingly they tell us that the *Jews*, after the Captivity, tho' they understood not *Hebrew*, but *Chaldee* only, yet had not the Bible translated out of the *Hebrew*, but had it read in this Language, though the People understood it not, because it was the Original Text. To which I return'd an Answer before, namely, that 'tis probable the *Jews* had *not wholly* forgot the *Hebrew* Tongue, and that the Interpretation of the *Law* spoken of, *Neh. viii. 3.* was not *Translating* the *Hebrew* into *Chaldee*, but *Explaining* obscure Places in the Law. Besides, if there were any thing of Consequence and Strength in this that the *Romanists* alledge concerning the *Jewish* Practice, it would prove that we should read the Old Testament in *Hebrew*, because it was written in that Tongue: for if it could be prov'd that the *Jews* kept up the Reading of the Original Text in their Publick Service, one Reason of it without doubt was this, *viz.* because the Old Testament was written in *Hebrew*. And for the like Reason we should at this Day read the New Testament in *Greek*, because that

is

is the Tongue it was first written in. But I believe there are few of the Papists themselves that think this is good Arguing.

'Tis farther alledg'd by some of the Church of *Rome*, when they are contending against the Necessity of Translating the Bible into the Vulgar Tongues, that the *Turks* in their Mosques read the *Alcoran*, which is in *Arabick*, of which the People know nothing. But this is very sorry Arguing: for the Practice of the *Turks* is no Precedent for us, especially when 'tis unreasonable: I wonder that to the Example of *Jews* and *Turks* they did not add that of the *Old Heathens*, who (as I have hinted before) had many *Unintelligible* Things in their Religion, and pronounc'd many Words, which they had no Knowledge of.

Now, after having set aside the *false* and *pretended Reasons*, which the Church of *Rome* alledges for her Practice of depriving the People of the Scriptures, I will assign the *true and only Reasons* of it, which are these two: First, the more general one is this, they design to nourish *Ignorance*, which (as I said before) is very serviceable to them. Nothing doth more effectually advance their Religion than this, and nothing doth more advance this than the not suffering the Scriptures to be read by the People. For hereby are begot *implicit Faith* and *blind Obedience*, which are the great and powerful Machines, whereby *Rome* works all her Designs.

But Secondly, more particularly, the other Reason why the Bible is forbid to be read is this, They are afraid that their Corruptions and Superstitions would be discovered, and their wicked Lives laid open, if the Scriptures should be in the mother Tongue, and expos'd to every one's View. Wherefore they dare not tolerate the Scriptures to be translated into the vulgar Tongue, and to be read by the People, lest they should be informed from these Writings how unlawful some of the Practices of their Church are.

are. This is so great a Truth that one of their own Communion plainly and freely owns it, I mean *Peter Sutor*, a *Carthusian* Divine, who honestly gives this Reason, why the Scriptures are not to be translated into, or read in the vulgar Tongues; * "because when the People see that Things are required by the Church of *Rome* to be done by them, as if they were of Apostolical Command, and yet can't find a Word of them in Scripture, they will be inclin'd to murmur." The Bible then must be kept from the People, that they may not discern the Impositions, Falshoods and ill Behaviour of the *Roman Church*. Yea, though the *Ten Commandments* are pretended to be set before them, that they may read them, yet the *Second* of them is left out, that they may not be inform'd that *worshipping of Images* is condemn'd by the Scripture, and therefore is utterly unlawful. The Papists are afraid of the *Light* of Scripture, and † *fly from it*, as one of the Antients said of the *Hereticks* of his Time: and as our Saviour before him had said of all evil Men, *they hate the Light, neither come they to the Light, lest their Deeds should be reprov'd*, John iii. 20. and lest they should be oblig'd to reform and amend their Ways. The Church of *Rome* acts very cunningly in this; she is conscious to herself of the Badness of her Cause; she can't but be sensible what great Cheats and Frauds in Religion are maintain'd by her: and therefore she keeps the Scriptures in the Tongues unknown to the People, lest those Cheats should be discover'd, and lest the People should be tempted to oppose the unjust Usurpations of *Rome*, and to cast off the Yoke which hath lain so long on them, and to repossess themselves of that Liberty, wherewith Christ hath made them free. She knows full well, that if the *Bible* should be read by the People, the Doctrines and Lives of her Priests would

* De translatione Biblior.

† Lucifuga Scripturarum. Tertullian.

be examined by that word of God, and would be found to be odious and abominable. Wherefore it is her Interest and Concern to forbid the Scripture to the People. Whatever other Reasons are pretended by her, *This, This* is the Main why she retains the Bible in a Language that the People understand not. And from the whole I question not, but it is made apparent, that their Doctrine and Practice are utterly unwarrantable and unlawful, and that whilst the Church of *Rome* wraps her Devotion up in a strange Tongue, and hides the Light of the Scripture from the People, she cannot with any colour of Reason defend herself.

Thus I have finish'd what I intended: only there is a Reflection or two, which I will leave with the Reader.

First, Let us deliberately take notice of the unjust and impious dealing of the Church of *Rome* in prohibiting the reading of the inspir'd Writings of the Prophets and Apostles. This is taking away the *Charters* from the Societies of Christians, this is a tyrannical divesting them of the greatest and choicest *Privilege* they claim as Members of the Church; this is an inhumane and barbarous depriving them of the Food of Life; this is an hellish Attempt to introduce Infidelity and Atheism. Wherefore let us observe the Character of these Men, and of those likewise who are approaching to them among ourselves, among whom I may reckon that great Prelate, who tells us, that † “The promiscuous
“Licence which is given to all sorts of People
“not only to read, but to interpret the Scrip-
“tures, is more prejudicial, I might better say, per-
“nicious, both to particular Christians, and to whole
“Societies, than the over-rigorous restraint of the
“Romanists.” And there are more of this Man's Mind, who tho' they do not profess to be of the Roman Communion, yet favour this Doctrine and

† Bp. Bramhall's Vindication of Grotius, &c.

Practice of theirs, and if it were in their Power, would not suffer a Laick to look upon a Bible.

Secondly, Bless God for the *English* Bible. Be thankful to the Almighty that you live not in those Times when the Books of *Latin* Service only, *Portu-
guese*s, and *Manuals*, *Missals*, and *Processionals* were all in fashion, when it was not known to the Vulgar, that there was such a Book as the Bible; when afterwards the Translation into the Mother Tongue was very rare and secret; when, as in King *Henry VIII.*th Time, a Load of Hay was given for a Chapter or two of *St. Paul* or *St. James* in *English*. Ador'd and blessed be the divine Goodness, that we have in our time Bibles plentifully, and are not debarr'd the consulting of these Holy Oracles. Our Church doth not only give us leave to read these sacred Writings, but earnestly invites and solicits us to be frequent and diligent in this godly Exercise.

Thirdly and Lastly, make a right Use of this great and singular Benefit. Let your Knowledge and Skill in divine Matters be proportionable to your Vouchsafements; let your Lives and Practices be answerable to this distinguishing Favour indulg'd to you above others. Be perswaded how inexcusable you will be, if you do not surpass the Papists in spiritual Understanding and Holiness of Life, and in the Observation of all those strict Rules which the Bible inculcates upon us.





CHAP. XIV.

Of the Celibacy of the Clergy.

IT is not unknown to those that have conversed with the Writers of the Church of Rome, that they hold *the Marriage of Priests to be unlawful*. And this is a Doctrine of great Moment it seems; for * the Archbishop of *Mentz* profess'd, he would rather permit the Lord's Supper to be administred in both kinds, nay he would rather abolish the Mass, than suffer the unmarried Life of the Clergy to go down. A † Writer of very great Esteem and Authority among the Romanists contends that *Celibacy* is annex'd to *sacred Orders* as a necessary, substantial, and essential thing, and enjoyn'd by divine Command, and that it can be no more lawful for Priests to marry than it can be for them to steal, or be guilty of the like Fault. Yea, we are told, that § *Fornication* in a Priest is not so great a Sin as *Marrying*. And ‡ *Costerus*, one of their Casuists, saith the same; and all their great and approved Doctors maintain it with vigour. But not to rest wholly on the Determinations of the *Roman* Doctors, tho' of great Name, we have it from the true Staple of Popish Doctrine, the *Tridentine Council*, that * *If any say that the Clergy or Regulars may contract Marriage, and that such Contract is valid, let him be accursed*. Here's the old Stile of *Rome*, anathematizing, to let us know that they are in good Earnest, when they declare their Minds thus.

* Coll. Mensal. † Franc. Turrianus. l. 2. de dogm. charact.

§ Gloss. ad Gratian. dist. 34. & dist. 82. c. 5.

‡ Enchirid. de Celibatu. c. 17. • Sess. 8.

But we, on the contrary, assert in the Words of our Church, that * *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are not commanded by God's Law, either to vow the State of single Life, or to abstain from Marriage: wherefore it is lawful also for them, as for all other Christian Men, to marry at their own Discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to Godliness.* This is our Doctrine; and now let us see, on what *Grounds and Reasons* we make it good. We prove the Marriage of Clergymen lawful from these following Arguments.

I. Because Scripture declares Marriage in general to be lawful, and the forbidding of it unlawful. We are assur'd by the great and infallible Apostle, that *Marriage is honourable in All*, Heb. xiii. 4. it is of high Esteem and Repute among all Nations and People, and among all Ranks and Conditions of Persons; there is no Order or Degree that is excluded from it. Again, the Apostle is very plain in 1 Cor. vii. 2. *To avoid Fornication, let every Man have his own Wife*, that is, every Man that hath not the Gift of Continency: for so the Apostle explains himself, ver. 9. *if they cannot contain, whether they be single, or Widowers, let them marry: for it is better to marry, than to burn*, that is, to be inflamed with impure and lustful Desires. We see then, that there is a general Allowance for a married Life; and, till this be taken away, every particular and individual Person is included in it, Clergymen as well as those of the Laity. And 'tis observable, that the Apostle foretels that the contrary Doctrine, viz, *forbidding to marry* shall be taught by those that *in the latter Times shall depart from the Faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits, and Doctrines of Devils*, 1 Tim. iv. 1, 3. Nay,

II. There is exprefs and particular Allowance to *Ministers and Clergymen* to marry. 1 Cor. ix. 5. *Have we not Power to lead about a Sister a Wife, as well as*

other Apostles, and as the Brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? That is, Power or Licence is given to me, as well as to other Ministers of the Gospel, to marry a *Sister* (for that was the Word amongst the Primitive Christians to signify a *Believing Woman*) and take her along with me in my Travels. I know the Popish Authors and some others understand this Text not of the Apostle's marrying a Wife, but of carrying with him in his Travels some pious Woman of good Estate, that might be serviceable and beneficial to him, and the rest of the Brethren: but the Reason which the Apostle gives why he and *Barnabas* declin'd the *leading about a Sister a Wife*, sufficiently confutes this Interpretation: for he tells the *Corinthians* that he did this, *that he might make the Gospel of Christ without Charge, that he abuse not his Power (the Power of leading about a Sister) &c.* 18. and *that he might keep himself from being burthensome*, 2 Cor. xi. 9. xii. 14. that he might not at that time be chargeable to the Churches by having a Wife and Family. This plainly shews that *marrying a Wife* is here understood, which State of Life, the Apostle thinks not fit to enter into again at present, because he would not bring an unnecessary Burthen and Expence upon them. But he lets them know (that they may be sensible of his Kindness to them) that he hath *Power* or Liberty to change his State of Life, and that none can take away this Liberty from him, or from any other Ministers of the Gospel.

That these were allow'd to live a Conjugal Life is undeniably manifest from 1 *Tim.* iii. 2. *Tit.* i. 6. where in the Character of a Bishop 'tis said, *He must be the Husband of one Wife*. For understand it how you will, whether as a *Precept*, that he shall have but one Wife at a time (as 'tis expounded by **St. Jerome*) or as a *Prohibition* against having two Wives succes-

* Præcipit, ut sacerdotes singulas uno tempore habeant uxores.
Ep. 83.

sively one after the Death of another (which is forbidden in the *Canons of the Apostles*, as they are commonly call'd) or against putting away his Wife and marrying another after Divorce, still it is evident that *Clergymen* are permitted by the Apostle to marry; for that is necessarily included in their being the *Husbands of one Wife*.

III. From the *Examples* in the *Old and New Testament* it is clear that Ecclesiastical Persons may have Wives. This we see in the Priests and *Levites* under the Law: and we find there express Precepts and Directions about their marrying, and the particular Qualification of their Wives. Then for the *New Testament*, *St. Peter's* Wife is mention'd in *Matth. viii. 14.* tho' he of all the Apostles should not have married, according to the Opinion of those, who pretend to be his Successors. We are told by Ecclesiastical Historians, that others of them had Wives. *Philip* was married, and had Children, saith * *Clement of Alexandria*. All the Apostles but *John* and *Paul* were married, saith † *St. Ambrose*. Nay this latter is not excepted by the foresaid *Clement* in the third Book of his *Stromata* (whereupon || *Du Pin* saith that this Author was herein mistaken, but rather it may be said, that himself was so) nor by *Origen* upon the Epistle to the *Romans*; nor by *Eusebius*, who, out of that Book of *Clement's*, disputing against *Tatianus* the Founder of the *Encratitæ*, who were against Marriage, tells us, that *St. Paul* was wedded. And *Ignatius* before him, in his Epistle to the *Philadelphians*, informs us of the very same. And tho' the contrary is generally asserted, yet I do not see any solid Ground for it, but rather it appears from *1 Cor. vii. 8.* that he had been married, but when his Wife died, he continued a Widower. I say to the unmarried (*i. e.* Widowers) and Widows, it is good for them if

* *Strom. l. 3.*

† In *2 Cor. xi.*

|| *Ecclef. Hist. Vol. I. p. 78.*

they abide even as I, that is, a Widower. Some would prove from *Phil. iv. 3.* *I entreat thee, true Yoke-fellow,* that St. Paul speaks of his Wife : So thought *Clement of Alexandria*, and some other Fathers of old, and amongst the Learned Moderns *Erasmus* : but I cannot urge this.

IV. That the Marriage of the Clergy is lawful is proved from the Example of the *Antient* and *Primitive Fathers*, *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, many of whom were married Men. That holy Martyr *Ignatius* is acknowledg'd by all to be of that Number ; and this good Man had so ill an Opinion of the Asserters of the Celibacy of the Clergy, that he said *the *Apostate Spirit the Old Serpent dwells in them.* Which when we read, we cannot wonder that the Apostle reckon'd the Prohibition of Marriage among the *Doctrines of Devils.* It is universally confess'd that those Eminent Men of the Church, *Hermas*, *Tertullian*, *Spiridion*, *Hilary*, *Basil*, *Gregory Nyssen*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Epiphanius*, *Synesius*, *Prosper*, and several others who were in sacred Orders, abandon'd the single Life. That the Marriage of Priests was in *Athanasius's* Time lawful, may be seen in his Epistle to *Dracontius.* And 'tis affirm'd by *Jerom*, that many Priests in his Time had their proper Wives.

I might go back as far as the *Apostolical Canons* if they were of undoubted Antiquity. However, those that think them so, (as the Writers of the *Roman Church* generally do, with whom we deal at present) may from them satisfy themselves that 'tis lawful for Clergymen to marry, for the fifth Canon expressly saith, † “ Let not a Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, “ put away his Wife under Colour of Religion, “ or if he do so, let him be put from the Commu- “ nion of the Faithful, and if he continue, let him

* Ep. ad Philadelph.

† Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα μὴ ἐκ βαλλίτου προφάσει ἐνυαβείας, &c.

“ be deposed from his Office. ” Upon which Words those great Oracles of Canon Law *Balsamon* and *Zonaras* tell us, that Bishops and other Churchmen had Wives, even after they were Bishops. I know that, against this, the twenty fifth Canon is alledg'd, where those that come *single* to the Priesthood, are forbid afterwards to marry : and this seems to be confirm'd by the twenty ninth Canon ; wherefore I see there is no good Arguing from these *Canons* : and indeed they are voted to be spurious by the most judicious Writers of the Protestant Communion, and by some of the Church of *Rome*. Let us hear then what undoubted *Councils* say.

V. It is proved from the *Decrees* of the most ancient and approved *Councils*, that the Marriage of Ecclesiastical Persons is lawful, and that the imposing of a Single Life upon them is not so. The first and famous Council of *Nice* left it to every Clergyman's Liberty to marry, or not : for tho', at first, the Fathers of that Council were otherwise inclin'd, yet when *Paphnutius*, an Old Confessor and Bishop, but himself a Single Man, stood up in the Council, and set before them the whole Matter, and urged Scripture, and especially *St. Paul's* Authority, and with these confronted their seeming Reasons and Arguments, he gain'd to him the Votes of the whole Synod, and they with one Consent * allow'd of the Matrimony of the Clergy.

Another General Council, the sixth in Order, the third of *Constantinople*, in the seventh Century decreed the Marriage of Priests, against the Church of *Rome* endeavouring to restrain it. The same is approv'd of by the fourth Canon of the Council of *Gongra* ; and it is determin'd in the sixty fifth Canon of the *Eliberitane* Council, that “ If a Clergyman
“ knows that his Wife commits Adultery, and sends

* Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 8. Sozom. l. 1. c. 22.

“ her

“ her not away, he is unworthy of the Communion of the Church. ” It is clear then, that in the Churches of *Spain* the Clergy were not tied up to Celibacy. The Decrees of other Councils might be mention'd, but these may suffice, especially when I add, that in the Churches of *Ethiopia, India, Greece*, and in all Parts where Christians are, Marriage is not forbid to Priests, but allow'd of, yea they are permitted to marry a second time. I have spoken of the *Jews* before, and it is as evident that the *Heathens* generally denied not Wedlock to their Priests. So that whereas the *Romanists* usually have something from *Judaism* or *Paganism* to alledge for themselves, here they are at a loss, and have nothing to alledge.

Yet they will not forbear such Pleas and seeming Proofs as these; first, they quote *Scripture* (as Satan before them did) to serve their Cause. They foolishly make use of *1 Sam. xxi. 5. If the Young Men have kept themselves at least from Women*, most irrationally inferring from the Priests abstaining from their Wives, when their Turns of Officiating came, that Clergymen must have no Wives. Besides, the Truth of the Matter is this, the Priests Habitations were out of *Jerusalem*, in the City of the *Levites*, but when their Courses return'd of ministring in the Temple, they came to *Jerusalem*, and continued eight Days together in the Temple, and so were necessarily kept from their Wives. He must be a Man of a very subtle Head, that can prove hence that the Priests ought not to marry. As weakly and impertinently is that of the Apostle quoted in *1 Cor. vii. 5. Defraud not one the other, except it be with Consent for a Time, that ye may give yourselves to Fasting and Prayer*. Where the Apostle advises the Husband and Wife, on some solemn Occasion to deny themselves the carnal Converse which at other times is freely permitted to them, that they may the more earnestly attend to the religious Exercises which they are call'd to be employ'd in: but no Logick can help a Man to conclude

clude hence, that Churchmen are hereby forbid to have Wives, and to make use of the married State.

Others as fondly cite the Apostle's Words in *Rom.* viii. 8. *They that are in the Flesh, cannot please God*: But Priests are in the Flesh, in an impure and corrupt State, if they marry: therefore it is impossible they should please God. But 1st, if this Arguing be good, then all others, as well as Priests, that are married, are in that State wherein they can't please God: and so this condemns Marriage in general, that is Marriage in all Persons: which is more than these poor Reasoners intended, and therefore this Argument must be rejected, because it proves too much, if it proves any thing at all. 2^{dly}, If the Conjugal State be so impure and corrupt, that none who are in it can please God, and consequently Priests must abstain from Marriage, I ask how comes it to pass that *Matrimony* is a *Sacrament* in the Church of *Rome*? And being a *Sacrament*, they hold it confers (even *ex opere operato*) *Grace* and *Sanctification*. Wherefore Marriage should rather add to the Priest's Purity and Sanctity than take these away from them, and make them incapable of pleasing God. And moreover, the Church of *Rome* holds, that the *Priest* entirely makes all the *Sacraments*, and consequently that of *Matrimony*: but will the Pious Priest have the whole making of that which he knows will put Men into a State of Impurity and Unholiness, such as will render them unfit to do what is pleasing to God? Surely he is too good a Man to do any thing of this Nature. And yet (which shews the gross Absurdity of the thing) he holds that Marriage is a *Sacrament*, and conveys *Holiness* with it. And yet it is too *impure* for him, and therefore he abstains from it. If any one hath the Ability, let him reconcile these Contradictions and Solæcisms.

But they argue from *Authority* and *Antiquity*, and tell us that *Virginity* was highly extoll'd by the Primitive Fathers; that Marriage was very much depress'd,

press'd, and that St. *Jerome* particularly was a stiff Man for the Celibacy of Deacons and Priests, as may be seen in his Book against *Vigilantius*. I answer. I. From their extolling the Celibacy of the Priests, none can argue that they thought the Marriage of Priests was unlawful: for we see that in 1 *Cor.* vii. the Apostle shew'd himself a great Patron of *Celibacy*, and hath expressly display'd the Conveniences of a single Life, he hath freed it from the *Cares* and *Incumbrances* of a Marriage-State, and hath represented *Virginity* as a Condition almost Angelical: But if we read the Chapter diligently, it will appear that he speaks not against Marriage absolutely, but with reference only to *that Time*, when Persecution was so hot; in that Juncture a Single Life was best and most eligible. And accordingly we are not to marvel that some of the *Fathers* that lived under the *Roman* Emperors, who made havock of the Christian Church, talk very warmly for an Unwedded Life. And those Writers that came after them did on other Considerations depreciate the married State, because it was some hindrance to Devotion, and to some other Acts of Religion, the Church being not then fully settled. II. I answer, if some of the Antient Writers would be *lavish* and *extravagant* in what they said of Marriage, what is that to our Purpose? It is not to be denied that St. *Jerome* and some others have Words unbecoming the *State of Matrimony*, which we know is of Divine Institution: and St. *Ambrose* talks of the *Virgin-State* in a Stile not befitting so wise and good a Man. To say the Truth, this was a Smack of the Old Heretical Doctrines of *Marcion* and *Montanus*, and the *Encratite*, who furiously inveigh'd against Marriage, as impure, unclean, and vitious, and more especially condemn'd the Marriage of Clergymen. And hence it was that this latter became at last a Doctrine of *Popery*.

Another Objection from *Antiquity* is this, It is true that the Antient Councils and Canons permitted Priests

to continue still married, provided they were the Husbands of one Wife, but there is not one Example of a Person that married after he was in Holy Orders for fifteen hundred Years. If they were Single at the time they were made Bishops or Priests, they always continued so. I answer, first, It is sufficient to our Purpose against the *Romanists*, that it hath been prov'd that Bishops and Presbyters married, and were not depriv'd of their Office for being so: there is no need of assigning the time, that is, whether they were married before, or after they were Bishops. But secondly, to satisfy the curious and inquisitive, they may be pleas'd to consult *Cassiodorus*, who writ the Abridgment of the *Tripartite History*, and he will ascertain them that *Eupfichius*, a Bishop in *Cæsarea*, married after he was Bishop, and died a Martyr presently after. And what was the Practice as to this very Particular, we may learn from the Council held at *Ancyra*, in the Middle of the fourth Century, where there was this Canon; "If Priests at the time of Ordination made Protestation that they would marry, if they marry afterwards, let them continue in their Ministry, soasmuch as the Bishop hath given them Licence." Whence it is clear and undeniable that it was lawful for them to marry after Ordination.

Thus it is plain that their Pleas from *Antiquity* are not valid, and that for three hundred Years after Christ the Marriage of the Clergy was not prohibited, but freely allow'd. It is generally agreed by Authors of good Note, that *Syricius*, Bishop of *Rome*, at the latter End of the fourth Century was the first that decreed the Clergy should be compell'd to a single Life. And in the East, the sixth Synod in *Trullum*, that is, in the Cloyster of the Imperial Palace of the *Greek* Emperor, was the first that forbad Clergymen to marry, and to retain their Wives, saith *Balsamon* on the fifth Canon of the Apostles. But it was a great while after this, before these Decrees and Prohibitions universally prevail'd:

vailed: it is thought, not till Pope Gregory the VII, alias *Hildebrand*, A. D. 1074.

I have said what was sufficient to be suggested under this Popish Head of the *Celibacy of the Clergy*.

I shall now finish all in a *Corollary* or two.

First, Let us now not only be convinced of the Truth of that Persuasion, which I have been advancing, but let us look upon the contrary Doctrine and Practice as very wicked. For 'tis certain that it is accompanied with gross *Hypocrisy* in the Priests themselves. For many of them, whilst they pretend to greater Purity and Continence than others, have been discover'd to have been guilty of extraordinary Lewdness. Though they preach up Celibacy, yet they run into actual Impurity, and they allow themselves in Fornication and Uncleanness. The Story of *John de Crema* an *Italian* Cardinal is well known, He was the Pope's Legate sent over to *England* by him, in our King *Henry* the I.'s Reign, to defend the Cause of the Priests Celibacy, and to curb those that were married, and to compel them to abandon their Wives, and to that purpose made a very pathetic Speech concerning the unlawfulness of Priests Marriage, and in Commendation of a single Life, but the good Orator, the very same Night after his Oration, was taken in Bed with a Strumpet. I had mention'd this before, but I could not forbear giving the Reader a Relation of it a second time, it being so seasonable in this Place, and it being testified by *Hovedon*, *Huntingdon*, and other credible Authors of the *Roman* Communion. And 'tis not to be doubted that there are abundant Instances of the like nature, that is, of *Roman* Priests, who inveigh against a wedded Life, and magnify Virginity, but at the same time indulge themselves in the secret Practice of Lewdness.

Secondly, Nor is it *Hypocrisy* only that I charge them with, but it is too evident, that other great Evils and Enormities, and even Bloodshed and Murder

der accompany this Practice. * One that was a *Roman* Catholick himself, the Bishop of *Augsburg* in an *Epistle* of his relates a dreadful Spectacle at *Rome*, namely that soon after Pope *Gregory* establish'd the Celibacy of the Clergy, he intending to fish in a deep Pond near a Monastery, and letting out some of the Water to that End, some thousand Heads of Children were found, who had been thrown in there and drown'd. Upon which the Pope revers'd his Decree of *unmarried Life*, but other Popes renew'd it and requir'd the strict Observance of it. The Bastards are so numerous at *Rome* by reason of the swarming of Priests, that Monasteries are built on purpose, wherein they are brought up. Out of Monasteries and Frieries they came, and thither they go. At any solemn Procession at *Rome* these Bastards go before the Pope, as the same Author relates, to tell the World, that he is not asham'd of this accursed Fruit of the unmarried Lives of the Priests and Nuns.

Thirdly, Let those of the Clergy of the *Reformed* Churches, that are in a State of Wedlock, remember to demean themselves so as not to be a Scandal to their Profession. We of the Protestant Communion make use of that Christian Liberty which the Popish Clergy are debarr'd of, but let us do it with Wisdom and Prudence, and Christian Moderation, and Self-Denial. We must take care that the Relation and Duties which are proper to the wedded Condition, hinder not those which peculiarly appertain to our ecclesiastical Function. The Delights of a married State ought not to be Avocations from the right discharging our spiritual Offices in the Church, but Helps and Encouragements to us in the performing them. In brief, we should follow the Apostle's Advice, that *those that have Wives, be as tho' they had none*; that is, that they over-value not such earthly

Comforts and Possessions, that they place not their Happiness in these inferior Enjoyments, and that they use them to the great Ends of Religion and Holiness.



CHAP. XV.

Of the Idolatry of the Church of Rome, or their giving Divine Worship to Creatures.

THIS is the highest Charge against the Romanists, and I have kept it for the last. But I shall demonstrate it to be as true and real, as clear and evident, as any of the preceding ones. I know there are some that pretend, it is a very difficult thing to define *Idolatry*, and their Design in this is to keep it from being discovered, that it may not be applied by any means to the Church of *Rome*. But this is a mere Cheat and Delusion: for the Notion and Nature of Idolatry are plain and obvious, and easy to be understood; for nothing is more commonly spoken against by the Penmen of the Holy Scripture; and surely they understood, what they said, and were persuaded and satisfied, that those they spoke to had also a knowledge of it. *Idolatry* (or rather *Idololatry*, for so it should be express'd, but I know not how the Word hath been corrupted by us, and we have left out a Part of it: But I shall not vary from the usual and vulgar writing of the Word, for in this and the like Cases we are not to observe *Propriety*, but *Custom*.) *Idolatry*, I say, in the most proper and strict Sense, is worshipping an Idol, a paying Divine Adoration and Service to an Image, or whatsoever is erected as

a ma-

a material and visible Representation of a Deity. But in the more large and comprehensive Acception of the Word, *Idolatry* is, worshipping any other Thing or Person that is not God. As we learn from the Apostle's Words in *Gal. viii. 8.* where he reminds the *Galatians*, that when they were Heathens, *they did Service unto them which by Nature are no Gods.* Therefore it is manifest, that *Idolatry* is giving divine or religious Worship to that which by Nature is a *Creature*, not a *God*. There cannot be a more intelligible and perspicuous Truth than this, though some for evil Ends have endeavour'd to obscure it. That ancient and learned Father of the Christian Church gave us a right Idea and Character of *Idolatry*, when he in brief tells us that then it is committed, ** when any thing is exalted beyond the Measures of human Honour, as if it were of divine Sublimity.*

This was the *Idolatry* of the *Pagans*, and I will shew how it is a Parallel of the *Papish* *Idolatry*.

First, we find that the *Pagans* generally own'd and worshipp'd one *Supreme God*, but they set up with him other inferior ones, created Deities whom they stiled *Demons* or *Heroes*. These were subordinate Divinities, these were Mediators and Intercessors with the Supreme one. So it is among the *Roman Catholics*; though they acknowledge the *true God*, yet they have their *Angels* and *Saints*, to whom they pray, and before whom they prostrate themselves, and perform religious Adoration; for these answer to the *Pagan Heroes* and *Demons*, and are their *Intercessors* and *Mediators* with the Supreme God.

Secondly, The *Pagans* worshipp'd their Gods (Great and Less) in *Images* and *Statues*. They look'd on these as Representations and Symbols of the Great and the Inferior Gods: but few of them thought these Images and Statues to be Gods, yet the wor-

* Quicquid ultra Humani honoris modum ad instar Divinæ sublimitatis attollitur. Tertull. de Idololat.

shipping of them is truly reckon'd as Idolatry. So the Papists, though they do not take the Images and Pictures of God and the Saints to be Gods, but only Representations of them, and erected to their Honour, yet they are justly charg'd with Idolatry, because they fall down before them, and give religious Worship to them.

Thirdly, The Heathens, who had their Inferior and Supreme Deities, pretended to give one sort of Adoration to one, and another sort to the other: one was lower, the other higher: but both were Idolatrous. So the Church of Rome distinguishes between that Worship which they allow to the great God and that which they give to the Angels, and Saints, and to Images, &c. One is said to be direct, and the other indirect and collateral only; one is absolute, and the other relative: but both being paid to *Creatures*, are on that very account *Idolatrous*. Thus we see from a brief Scheme of the *Gentile Worship*, that that of the *Romanists* cannot be clear'd from Idolatry. If the *Heathens* were Idolaters, so are the *Papists*: for we see that there is the same Draught of Worship. I conclude then that the Idolatry of the Men of the Church of Rome is as to the main the same with that of the *Pagans*.

So if we look into the Idolatry of the *Jews*, which was borrow'd from these, we shall be convinc'd, that those of the *Roman* Communion are equally guilty of Idolatry with any of the *Jews*, that are charg'd with that Sin. If we should grant that the *Israelites* were not so sottish, as to think that the *Golden Calf* or the *Calves of Dan and Bethel* were Gods, yet we find that this did not excuse them from Idolatry: for they were palpably guilty of this, because they worshipped the true God by, or in these Images: and at the same time they worshipp'd these Images, as Representatives of God. This we must know, that it is not necessary to Idolatry, that the Worshipper should conceive that the thing he worships is God: for if this

if this were requisite, then there would have been little Idolatry in the World, because the light of Nature would have told the Pagans as well as Jews that the Sun, Moon, and Stars, are not Gods, that a molten Calf cannot be a Deity, that that which hath neither Life nor Understanding nor Power, cannot challenge to be the Supreme Author and Disposer of all Things. But herein consisted the Idolatry of a great part of the deluded World (I say a *great Part*, because I do not exclude the absolute Belief of *Polytheism* among the Rest) that they conferr'd the Worship which was due to God alone on that which is not God, yea even when they knew it was but a Creature. On this account, the Idolatry of the *Pagans, Jews, and Papists*, is the same. Especially these two latter acknowledge one God, and yet they yield Adoration to those Things and Persons who are own'd by them to be no Gods. Thus though they do not take a Creature for God, yet whilst they give divine Worship to it, they are downright Idolaters: for the adoring of a Creature is the proper notion of Idolatry. Thus it was necessary to premise what hath been said of the *Nature of Idolatry*; and from thence 'tis too evident, what the Worship of the *Roman Church* is.

I go on now to make good the Charge in particular, that the *Papists* worship Creatures, both Persons and Things: first *Persons*, as Angels and Saints; secondly, *Things*, as Reliques, the Cross, the Elements in the Sacrament, Images and Pictures. All these are the Objects of religious Adoration with them. I begin with the former, namely, *Persons*, and here it is plain that the Devotionists of the Church of *Rome* worship both *Angels* and *Saints*, and assert and maintain this Practice, and therefore they are to be pronounced *Idolatrous*.

The first cannot be doubted, much less denied, by any that have taken notice of the Determination of the *Council of Trent* in this Matter: for according

to the * *Catechism* which was approv'd of by that Council, and publish'd by Order and Command of Pope *Pius V.* the *Veneration* and *Invocation* of the *holy Angels* is enjoyn'd. Accordingly there are Prayers made and compos'd on purpose, to invoke Angels, and particularly their peculiar Tutelar or Guardian Angels. This is an *old* piece of *Idolatry*, and was held and practis'd by some in the Christian Church in the Apostle's Time, as is evident from *Col. ii. 18.* And we learn from the Writings of the Ancient Fathers that the *Gnosticks* Divinity treated much about *Angels*, and they were inclin'd to worship them, and pray to them. St. † *Jerom* observes, that some of the believing *Jews* were still taken with the Mosaick Ceremonies, and us'd them with a great Devotion, and offer'd Sacrifices not to God, but to I know not what *fugitive Angels*: which he endeavours to prove their Fore-fathers did formerly in the Wilderness, from *Acts. vii. 42.* where they are said to worship the *Host of Heaven.* Which by St. *Paul* in that Place in the Epistle to the *Colossians* is call'd the *worshipping of Angels.* § Mr. *Selden* thinks it probable, that by this is meant the Custom of the *Essenes* mention'd by *Josephus*, that they us'd to swear by the Names of the Angels, and were obliged to do this at their Initiation into that Sect. But this is certain that the *Jews* had an undue Veneration for Angels, and were for recommending and addressing themselves to them in their Prayers. Accordingly *Philo* very frequently in his Writings asserts their Mediatorship: and *Maimonides* cites that Text, *Job xxxiii. 23. If there be a Messenger with him,* to prove that *Angels* are *Mediators* and *Intercessors.* It is likely then that this was the corrupt Notion which some Christian *Jews* had taken up even in the Apostles Times, and St. *Paul* refers to it in that fore-mention'd Place. And we read of the

* *Parf. i. c. 2.*† *Epist. 151. ad Algasiam.*§ *De Dis Syriis. Syntag. I.*

Angelici, Hereticks that worshipped Angels, as St.* *Augustine* relates. The *Marcionites* and the *Manichees* were of this Sort, and this was grounded on the Opinion, that the World was created by Angels, and not by God, which was held by *Simon Magus* the first Heretick. Nor is it improbable that both *Jews* and *Christians* receiv'd those ill Sentiments from the *Pagans*, for it is agreed on by all, that Angels or *Dæmons* (as they call'd them) were an inferior sort of Deities that they worshipp'd; and that they ought to have Prayers offer'd to them, was held by *Celsus*, as † *Origen* informs us. Now the *Papists* took this Opinion and Practice from the judaizing Christians and Pagans, and adopted them into their Worship (as it is well known that a great part of their Religion is deriv'd from *Judaism* and *Paganism*) they make the Angels their Agents and Intercessors with God, they direct their Petitions to them, and fall down before them, and give them that Reverence and Veneration which is not due to any Creature.

But I will now briefly shew that this is directly opposite to what the Holy Scriptures (which are our Rule in this Case) dictate to us. This adoring of Angels is expressly forbidden in *Col. ii. 18.* *Let no Man beguile you of your Reward in a voluntary Humility and worshipping of Angels:* as if the Apostle had said, Do not embrace such a Doctrine and Practice as will endanger your Happiness; and do not deceive your selves by thinking that there is some special *Humility* in addressing your selves to Angels, as if you dare not apply your selves to God immediately, but think it more reverential to make use of these Mediators. For that is the true meaning of *voluntary Humility* join'd here with the *worshipping of Angels*. There were those (saith St. *Chrysostom* on the Place) in the Apostles Times, who thought it not safe to go to the Father through Christ, but by the Angels,

* De Hæres. cap. 39.

† Conx. Cels. l. 8.

and therefore pray'd to them. And so *Theodore* and other Ancient Fathers on the Text tells us, that the Apostle here opposes those who held that God was to be approach'd to not by the Mediation of Christ but of Angels, and thence persuaded the Simple to pray to the Angels. The Apostle here condemns this Practice, and to shew how unreasonable and unlawful it is, adds concerning these Worshippers of Angels, that they *do not hold the Head*, ver. 19. they renounce Christ, who is the only Intercessor to the Father, from whose Influence the Church (as the Body from the Head) is maintain'd, and increases with a divine Increase.

And as there is here this particular Prohibition of the Apostle, so Angels themselves have forbid Persons to worship them: thus we read that when *St. John fell at an Angel's Feet to worship him*, he met with this Reprimand, *See thou do it not*, and the Reason which is added is this, *I am thy Fellow-Servant*, therefore worship God and him only. And at another time we have the very same Words on the like Occasion, *Rev. xxii. 9.* which shews that these Heavenly Messengers do not allow us to pray unto them, or to perform any other Act of Worship to them, but declare it to be sinful and unlawful. They are but our *Fellow-Servants* and *Fellow-Creatures*, and therefore it is downright Idolatry to give that Honour to them which is due only to our Great Master and Creator. The farther Reasons of it I refer till I come to speak of the *praying to Saints*, because what shall be said under that Head is applicable to this concerning the worshipping and invoking of Angelick Spirits.

I will in the next Place take notice of the *Pleas and Excuses* which those of the Church of *Rome* are wont to make Use of in defence of their offering up Prayers to the Angels. First, they endeavour to prove the Lawfulness of it from *Gen. xlviii. 16.* where *Jacob*, blessing *Joseph's* Children, saith, *the Angel, which redeemed me from all Evil, bless the Lads*: whence the

Writers

Writers of the *Roman Church* infer, that the Patriarch invoc'd an Angel, and beg'd of him to bless *Joseph's Children*. But the brief Answer to this is, that this Angel is the second Person in the Trinity, who appear'd to *Jacob*, as well as to *Abraham* and other Patriarchs before. This is the *Angel of the Covenant*, as he is stiled by *Malachi*: and the *ancientest Christian Father*, as well as the *Jewish* consent to this. But that which ought to be most prevalent with us is this, that the Words preceding these which have been quoted out of *Genesis*, and join'd with them, do clearly prove what hath been suggested, *The God which fed me all my Life long unto this Day, the Angel which redeemed me from all Evil, bless the Lads*. This Conjunction shews that the *Angel* is *God himself*, even the second Person in the Trinity, who not only now, but at other Times, appear'd to the Patriarchs in the Shape of an *Angel*, and therefore is so call'd.

In the *New Testament*, such Places as these are alledg'd, but to little purpose, *Matt. xviii. 10. Despise not one of these little ones: for I say unto you, that in Heaven their Angels do alway behold the Face of my Father which is in Heaven*. Therefore, say some Popish Authors, we ought to pray to Angels. A wild Inference, and such as they will never be able to make good, till they can prove, that because Angels *behold God's Face in Heaven*, and wait on his Servants here on Earth, when they are commissioned by him to perform that Service, therefore it necessarily follows that praying to them is our Duty. Such another Consequence is that which they make from *Luke xv. 7. There is Joy in the presence of the Angels of God over one Sinner that repenteth*: therefore we may lawfully make our Application to Angels in our solemn Petitions. But any unprejudiced Man must be forced to acknowledge, that there is no Connection between these two, namely, the Angels carrying up the joyful Tidings of a Sinner's Conversion, and our praying to them. As weakly and foolishly do some Writers of the Church

of Rome found this latter upon 1 Cor. xi. 10. *The Woman ought to have Power over her Head, because of the Angels, they being present in the Assemblies of the Saints.* But no Man of Reason and Judgment will conclude, that, because these Blessed Spirits are present in the publick Congregations of the Faithful, therefore we are oblig'd to perform to them that Act of Worship, which God challenges to himself.

Some cite 1 Tim. v. 21. *I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Elect Angels, that thou observe these things:* and argue thus, *Angels know what we do, and hear what we say, or else they would not be here mention'd as Witnesses to the Apostle's Charge:* therefore this is a Ground of our Praying to them. I answer, it doth not follow from their knowing and hearing what we say sometimes, that we may invoke them; for we know not when they are present, and at what time they hear what we say or do. Or if we knew this, still there is no Reason to pray to them, because we are to Pray to God alone, as I shall demonstrate to you in my next Particular.

They alledge Rev. i. 4. where they say *St. John prays to Angels, for Grace and Peace are wish'd and pray'd for by him from the Seven Spirits.* I answer, the Holy Ghost is here meant by the Seven Spirits, because of his manifold and various Gifts. And 'tis evident from the Text which, we may observe, mentions the three Persons in the Sacred Trinity, *Him that was, &c. and the Seven Spirits, and Jesus Christ.* Nor is that Objection of any Value, that the third Person is set before the second: for we shall find that the Persons of the Trinity are not always mention'd in their exact Order, as in 2 Cor. xiii. 14. 1 Gal. i. and other Places.

There is one Text more which is commonly perverted, to favour the Praying to Angels, Rev. viii. 3. *Another Angel came and stood at the Altar, having a golden Censer, and there was given unto him much Incense, that*

that he should offer it with the Prayers of all Saints upon the golden Altar. Whence 'tis inferr'd that the Angels are Mediators and Intercessors between God and Man, and offer up to God the Prayers that are made to them. But this extravagant Inference is soon remov'd, by observing that this *Angel* here spoken of is not one of the common Angels, but he is call'd *another Angel* to distinguish his Quality and Nature from the rest. This is no other than the *Angel of the Covenant* mention'd before, even Christ Jesus, our *High Priest* and *Intercessor*; and therefore 'tis observable that he is describ'd as such; to let us know who he is, *he hath a Golden Censer*, as the High Priest had, and the Incense was offer'd on the *Golden Altar* as was wont to be by the High Priest. We are not to doubt therefore, that Christ our High Priest is here meant, who intercedes in Heaven for the Saints on Earth, and thro' his abundant Merits (which are express'd here by *much Incense*) makes their Prayers acceptable to God. This is the genuine Sense of this Text, and it carries its own Evidence with it. Wherefore, notwithstanding what hath been *objected* by our Adversaries of the Church of Rome, we have Assurance of this great Truth, that the Scripture doth not approve of, but on the contrary, dislikes and condemns the Popish Doctrine and Practice of Adoring the Angels, and Praying to them.

With which agrees the positive Determination of the *Antients*, as that of * *Origen*, *All Prayer, and Supplication, and Intercession, and Thanksgiving, is to be sent up to Him who is God over all, by that High Priest, who is above all Angels, the Living Word and very God; and of Theodoret, † We neither give them (i.e. Angels) Divine Worship, nor do we divide Divine Ado-*

* Contr. Cels. l. 5.

† Οὐδὲ θεῶν αὐτοῖς ἀποσινοῦμεν τινας, οὐδὲ μνησθῆναι αὐτῶν ἔστι θεῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν προσεύχων. ἀλλὰ τὰς τιμωμένους μὴ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ θεῶν διὰ τῶν φωνῶν.

ration between God and them : but tho' they are more honourable than Men, yet we say they are our Fellow-Servants. To which may be added the thirty fifth Canon of that antient Council of *Laodicea*, conven'd in the Middle of the fourth Century, which forbids calling upon Angels, and determines it to be an idolatrous Practice, and an Apostacy from the Church of God.

Secondly, as the *Roman Church* worships Angels, so I shall now speak of her giving the same Honour to Saints, that is, to the Souls of holy Men and Women departed. And first it is notorious that they give Divine Adoration to the *Virgin Mary*, and their great Doctors and Professors write in Defence of it. Perhaps this Idolatry was borrow'd from the *Collyridians*, Hereticks mention'd by *Epiphanius*, who tells us that their Women offer'd as a Sacrifice to the *Virgin Mary*, an Oblation of Bread : which when they had offer'd, they did eat it among themselves, as the Orthodox Christians at that time did the Lord's Supper. So that this was a Sacrament in Honour of the Blessed Virgin, and consequently it was giving Divine Veneration to her. The like, or more transcendent *Mary-Worship*, is to be seen among the Papists. They present her with Gifts and Oblations, they dedicate Temples and Oratories, they erect Altars, they appoint Offices, they celebrate Masses, they vow Pilgrimages in her Honour.

And if we observe the Language and Stile of their Doctors and chief Churchmen, we shall never more doubt of the *Roman Idolatry* in this Point. * *Gabriel Biel* calls the Virgin the *Queen of Heaven*, to whom the King of Kings, the Heavenly Father, hath given the Half of his Kingdom. A known Jesuit concurs with him, and hath the Confidence to say, † *This is the Virgin Mary, with whom God hath divided his Kingdom.* And if any thing can be yet more blasphemous,

* De Can. Miss. Sect. 30.

† Vicgas. Serm. 17.

mous, certainly that of *Bernardine of Seres* is, *All Things and Persons serve to the Empire of the Virgin, and God himself.* I'll add but one Passage more, and that is most horrid and impious, * One saith, *He cannot tell which to prefer, the Mother's Milk, or the Son's Blood.*

But the *Praying to her* (if that may be called *Praying* which comes from such hellish Mouths) is the standing Mark and Proof of their *Adoring* her, of their ascribing as great, if not greater Honour to her, than to God himself. In *David's Psalms* wheresoever there is the Name of *Jehovah, Lord, or God,* the Name of *Mary* is inserted in its Room by *Bonaventure*, one of their Great and Topping Saints. A plain Sign that the Worship which is given to God in the Book of *Psalms* is also due to *her.* Or rather, the Adoration of the Great God is excluded to make way for hers. In the *Psalter of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, (as it is call'd) there are these expresse Words, at the reading of which every pious Reader will find himself inclin'd to tremble, but I beg leave to rehearse them as a Proof and Demonstration of what I'm speaking of. "The Virgin herself is the Door of
"Life, the Gate of Salvation, and the Way and
"Means of our Reconciliation; Let the Families of
"the Nations worship thee, and all the Orders of
"Angels glorify thee; O most merciful Virgin, wash
"away all our Sins; come unto her all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and she shall give Rest
"and Refreshment to your Souls; Let thy Servants
"receive the Illumination of the Holy Spirit by
"Thee; Thou with Thy Son sittest at the Right-
"Hand of the Father; Incline thy Son to look favourably upon us; Force him by thy Prayers to
"be merciful to us Sinners." And the highest Blasphemy of all, is that, "From thy Fulness the whole
"Sacred Trinity receives its Glory." And as these

Romanists live, so they die; for in the same *Psalter of the Virgin* there is this conclusive Resignation, *Into thy Hands* (namely the Hands of the Virgin Mary) *I commend my Spirit*. There are many other Passages of the like Nature in that Book: and in others she is generally pray'd unto as the *Mother of Mercy*, the *Hope and Help of the Afflicted*, *The Comforter of the Miserable*, &c. And in one of their *Missals* they pray to her to *command her Son by the Authority and Power of a Mother*. I think I have sufficiently prov'd the first thing I undertook under this second general Head, to wit, that the *Virgin Mary* is worshipp'd by the *Romanists*, and particularly that she hath Prayers offer'd unto her.

I proceed to prove that the *Papists* give the same Adoration to *other Saints* and *departed Souls*. None of their Authors pretend to deny, that Oblations and Sacrifices are offer'd to them, that Festival Days are devoted to their Honour, that it is lawful to make Vows to them, and to swear by them. The Erecting and Consecrating of Altars to them is another great Honour done to them in all Popish Countries, and a little before the Reformation here in *England* there were found a *dozen Altars dedicated to particular Saints, in the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul* in *London*, besides the high Altar, and one to *Michael* the Arch-angel.

But the most usual Instance of their worshipping the Saints, is their *Praying to them*. They privately and publickly implore their Help and Aid. *It is good and profitable*, † saith the Council of *Trent*, *to call upon the Saints with Humility, and to have Recourse to their Prayers, Aid, and Assistance*. This is Part of the twentieth Article of the *Roman Creed*, enjoin'd by the Council of *Trent*: and their *|| Catechism* in-

* See *Fuller's Church History*.

† *Sess. 9.*

|| *De Cultu & Veneratione Sanctorum.*

structs them in this. Besides, the constant *Practice* of the Church of *Rome* in its publick Liturgy is known. There are extant several Forms of Prayer to Saints, wherein 'tis evident that they apply themselves to them, as they do to God, for Mercy, and Grace, and Pardon, and for Temporal Blessings, and good things; for Protection and Deliverance, and the like. To which Purpose they have their set Patrons, and particular Helpers, according to the different Conditions they are in, and the Professions they are of, according to the Diversity of the Evils they labour under, according to the Variety of the Things, which they stand in need of. For one Saint is beneficial in one respect, and another in another; one presides over this Rank of Men, and others over those of a different Kind: Some bestow *this* peculiar Gift and Favour; others have it in their Power to help and accommodate us in *another* Way proper to themselves.

Thus St. *Apollonia* hath a particular Talent of curing the Tooth-ach; St. *Otilia* and St. *Clare* sore Eyes; St. *Genow* the Gout; St. *Petrarch* the Fever; St. *Liberius* the Stone; St. *Macarius* the Phrensy; St. *Apollinaris* the French Disease. St. *Gal* is for their Geese; St. *Pelagius* for their Oxen; St. *Anne* helps People to their lost Goods; St. *Leonard* is so kind and merciful as to relieve Prisoners, and sometimes to set open the Goal-Doors. *Cosmas* and *Damias* (for sometimes they are pleas'd to join in the same good Offices) patronize Physicians; St. *Margaret* Midwives; St. *Luke* protects the Painters; St. *Ive* the Lawyers; St. *Nicholas* the Mariners; St. *Hubert* the Hunters; St. *Honor* the Bakers; St. *Eloy* the Smiths; St. *Crispin* the Shoemakers; and good St. *Roch* even the Coblers; St. *Wendeline* the Shepherds; St. *Anthony* the Swineherds; and St. *Gertrude* is pleas'd to condescend so far as to be the Friend of Rat-catchers. The Designation of Saints to particular Offices and Employments is firmly believed by the Papists,

Papists, and accordingly they make their Application to them, as their State and Condition requires. And it hath been observed by unprejudic'd Persons, that they are more zealous in their Prayers to *Saints* than to *God*, and that some of them are more frequent in the former, than in the latter. There are ten *Ave Maria* for one *Pater Noster*. The Mother generally is preferr'd to her Son, and to all the *Saints*. I say generally, but sometimes upon the coming up of a *New Saint at first*, He gets the better of both, as in *Bishop Morton's Appeal* there is this Passage, "In the Old Books remaining in the Church of *Canterbury* it appears, that, whereas there us'd to be three Offerings made by the People in that Church, one to Christ, another to the Virgin *Mary*, a third to *Thomas Becket*, the Oblation made to *Thomas Becket* did *communibus annis* amount to Eight hundred or a thousand Pounds; that to our Lady to two hundred Pounds; that to Christ sometimes to five Marks, sometimes twelve, and sometimes *hoc anno Nihil*." Thus he. And we may be sure that their *Prayers* bore Proportion to their *Offering*. Thus the *Saints* exclude Christ the Son; and the Virgin, God the Father. For this is a settled Notion with the Generality of the blinded Papists, that the Addresses that are directed to the *Saints*, will be most successful and prosperous; and they shall hear an Answer sooner from them, than from God himself. Yea, in the Chapel built to *St. Anthony* in *Padua* there is this said of him;

Exaudit, quos non audit & Ipse Deus.

This Saint hears those, whom God himself doth not hear.

I am weary of such Blasphemy as this, and therefore will add no more of this Kind, tho' it were easy to present the Reader with Plenty of it from the Writings of the Men of the Church of *Rome*. It is too manifest

manifest from what hath been said that they assert the *Lawfulness*, and uphold the *Practice* of *Praying to departed Saints* (yea even in a most scandalous Manner) which was the thing I offer'd to prove, to make good the Charge of *Idolatry* against them.

But because (as I have said) they *defend* (as well as *practise*) this idolatrous way of Worship, I am obliged to consider and examine the *Arguments* which they make use of in this Controversy. And first they argue from *Jacob's Words* to *Joseph's Children*, by way of *Benediction*, *Let my Name be named on them, and the Name of my Fathers, Abraham, and Isaac*, Gen. xlviii. 16. where *Jacob* exhorts his Grand-children (say they) to pray to him when he is dead, and to pray to their Forefathers who were then dead. But this cannot but be observed to be a gross perverting of the Text: for who sees not the vast Difference between *named on them*, and *pray'd to by them*? which shews that this Text is most impertinently alledg'd by the Papists. But the plain Meaning of the Words is this; Let them bear the honourable Name of the Children of *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob* or *Israel*; let them be thus called in all future Generations: and so they are at this Day. That this is the true and unforc'd Meaning of the Place is clear from several others, where (according to the *Hebrew* way of Speaking) a Person or Person's *Name* or *Names* are said to be *call'd upon those* who are call'd by that Name. Thus in *Deut. xxviii. 10. Thou art call'd by the Name of the Lord*, Hebr. *the Name of the Lord is call'd upon thee.* 2 *Chron. vii. 14. My People which are call'd by my Name*, Hebr. *upon which my Name is called.* *Jer. xiv. 9. We are call'd by thy Name*, Hebr. *thy Name is call'd upon us*: and several other Texts might be produced, where this Manner of Speech is used. So that we may conclude there is not the least Foundation in these Words for the Invocation of Saints.

Some quote what *Moses* saith in his Prayer, *Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel thy Servants, Exod. xxxii. 13.* and the like again in *Deut. ix. 27.* and thence they would gather that these Patriarchs in Heaven pray'd for the *Israelites* at that time, and thence it seems rational that the *Israelites* should pray to them. But these are mere Surmises, and have no footing at all in these Words: for first it is not here meant, that *Moses* prays to God to remember and attend to the Prayers of those blessed Patriarchs, but to the Promises which God had made to them: for so we find it explain'd in another Place, where 'tis call'd *remembering the Covenant with Jacob, the Covenant with Isaac, and the Covenant with Abraham, Lev. xxvi. 42.* And secondly, if it could be proved that there is a Reference to the Prayers which these holy Patriarchs put up in Heaven, yet it would not follow thence that we are to *pray to them* or any other *Saints*.

Some make use of *Job v. 1.* *Call now, if there be any that will answer thee: and to which of the Saints wilt thou turn?* As if *Eliphaz* had said, Now in your great Afflictions and Troubles beg the Assistance of the Saints above, and to that End consider which of them thou wilt choose out to make thy Supplication to. After this wild Rate the Writers of the *Roman Church* may make what they please out of the Scriptures, they may extort what Sense they will from them. But it is certain that these Words afford no such Meaning as those Expositors present us with: for first, how do they know that the *deceased Saints*, and not the *living ones* are meant here? If we seriously weigh the Text, and compare it with what had been said before, we have reason to think that these latter are here spoken of: for *Eliphaz* had argued from *Job's* extraordinary Afflictions that he was a bad Man and a Hypocrite, and he urged that there never was any godly Man that suffer'd in the like kind, *Remember, I pray thee, who ever perish'd being innocent? or where were*

the Righteous cut off? And the same he inculcates here again, *Call now, ask if there be any that will answer:* examine whether thou hast thy Fellow any where; to which of the Saints, of whose Lives and Actions we have heard, wilt thou turn, and shew me such an Example of suffering, where there was no Hypocrisy or Wickedness? This is the obvious account of these Words, and agrees exactly with the Context, that is, not only what *Eliphaz* had said before, but what he delivers in this Chapter. Secondly, *suppose Job's* Friend should here put him upon such a Practice as the Objectors fancy; suppose he calls upon him to present his Supplications to the Saints departed, this doth not make it lawful. *Eliphaz* might err in this Matter.

But Thirdly, *Supposing* that the praying to the deceased Saints is here spoken of, yet even then it is most reasonable to believe that *Eliphaz* condemns that Practice in these Words. For we may well take them in an ironical way, as *Elijah's* Cry aloud to the Worshipers of *Baal*. So here, *Call now, cry to the Saints* above, and see whether they'll pity your Case, and relieve you, since your Supplications to the most High have proved ineffectual. But the serious Meaning is, the Saints cannot help you, and it is in vain to pray to them, besides that it is unwarrantable and unlawful.

There is another Text much cried up by the Assertors of the Invocation of Saints, as very serviceable to their purpose, and that is in *Ezek. xiv. 14. Though these three Men, Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it, they should deliver but their own Souls by their Righteousness*, saith the Lord; which is repeated again and again in the following Verses: and hence they would conclude that the deceased Saints offer up their Prayers for the Living, and consequently we may offer up our Prayers to *them*. But there is no Consequence at all in either of these Inferences: for as to the first, it is not implied here, that the deceas'd pray for the Living,

for when 'tis said *though these three Men, &c.* the plain Meaning is only this, that if *Noah* and *Joh* were now surviving, as *Daniel* is, and should intercede for this People, they should not prevail. Then as to the second, though the Saints praying for us could be founded on this Text, yet we cannot infer thence, that 'tis lawful for us to pray to them. This being a very considerable Point in this Place, I will say something of it: for the Popish Writers lay a great Stress on this, that the Saints supplicate God in our Behalf, and thereupon they build the Lawfulness of our supplicating them.

First then, I say this, it may be question'd whether the Saints in Heaven may be said to pray and intercede for those that are on Earth, as some Protestants have granted, and especially as *they have expressed the Matter*. For if we yield to this, it may be fear'd, that thence there will be some occasion given to infer that they are in some sort *Mediators*. But secondly, I will wave this, and grant that it is *probable* that those glorious Spirits in Heaven pray for us, because their Charity is great. Thence it is, that they wish us well, and desire our Happiness, and consequently pray for the Welfare of the Church of God, and the Destruction of its Enemies. Thus the *Souls of them that were slain for the word of God, cry'd with a loud Voice, How long, O Lord, &c.* Rev. vi. 9, 10. But then Thirdly, I add, that the Saints departed pray only in general; they know there is a Church on Earth, because they were of it, but they have no knowledge of the particular Condition of the individual Members belonging to it, and therefore it is not possible they should pray particularly for us: and thence it follows that it is vain to commend our particular Cases to them. The Reason is plain, because those blessed Spirits have, I say, but a general Knowledge of the Church's Condition here below; they are not acquainted (so far as we can tell) with the present and particular State of Mankind, and therefore 'tis

rash Folly to present our Petitions to them; and consequently the above-cited Allegations out of Scripture, in favour of the Invocation of Saints ought to be of no moment with us.

And here I would have it observ'd how impertinently the Church of Rome endeavours to prove the Doctrine of praying to the Saints out of the *Old Testament*; for she holds that the Souls of the Patriarchs and Prophets under the old Dispensation, before Christ came, were not taken up into Heaven to the *Beatifick Vision*, by means of which the Romanists say it is that they see and know all that is done upon Earth: therefore these Persons having not attain'd to this *Vision*, it follows upon the Doctrine of the Romanists themselves, that they cannot hear the Prayers which are put up to them, because they know not what is done or said upon Earth.

Then for the *New Testament*, they alledge, *Rev. v. 8. The four Beasts and the twenty four Elders, who fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them golden Vials full of Odours, which are the Prayers of the Saints.* Therefore, say the Roman Doctors, the Saints intercede and pray for us, and therefore we may pray to them. But I have shewed already how precarious and weak *this way of arguing* is, and therefore I will not repeat what I have said. But I will only take notice, how ill this Text is applied: for 1st, these *Beasts* (or *living Creatures*, as the Word should be rendered) and *Elders* are not the Saints above, but below, the People and Ministers of God here upon Earth. 2^{dly}, These *Prayers of the Saints* are the Prayers of those that held those *Vials*, and not the Prayers of others. 3^{dly}, They are not *petitory*, but *eucharistick* Prayers, as is clear from the 9th Verse, *they sung a new Song, saying, &c.* and from the 13th Verse, *Blessing, and Honour, and Glory, &c.* They are Thanksgivings rather than Petitions, and they are offer'd to God, not to the Saints: therefore this Citation is nothing to the Matter before us. Nor is there any other Text

either in the *Old* or *New Testament* that affords any solid Ground for this Popish Doctrine.

But let us see what Arguments they have from *Antiquity* and the *Primitive Ages*: for these they very much boast of. I must be large in answering this Plea, and I shall consider the first *Rise and Occasion* of praying to Saints, and give an Account of the just *Antiquity* of this Doctrine and Practice, and shew what the Sentiments of the *Fathers* were about it, and in the whole I will act most impartially and freely.

First, it is urged that the *Ancient Fathers* of the Church held that the *Saints intercede for us*, and therefore thence it may be inferr'd that their Persuasion was that they *pray'd to them*. The Answer to this is, that *Origen*, about the middle of the third Century, was the first that said any thing for the Saints interceding and praying for us. He shews that it was his Opinion, that the Saints above * *join their Prayers with ours*, and *St. Cyprian* (who lived in the same Age) in some Places of his Writings speaks to that Purpose. It was this, as I apprehend, which made way first of all for the *Invocation of Saints*: for they thought there was a Connection and Dependance of these two, the Saints praying for us, and our praying to them. But there is no Dependency, no Connection between these, as I have proved already, and therefore need not attempt it again. Wherefore it is to be observ'd, that though the Ancient Fathers of the Church, not only those whom I have named, but *Athanasius*, *Eusebius*, *Hilary*, and others, believed the *General Intercession* of the Saints for us, yet they did never pray to them, nor do they any where intimate that others ought to do it. This I conceive is a full Answer to the first Plea from Antiquity.

Secondly, they tell us that in the Writings of the Fathers, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Augustine*, we read of

* *Evangelicorum*. Cont. Cels. lib. 8.

Sacrifices and *Oblations* to the deceased Martyrs, and therefore it is to be gather'd thence that they pray'd to these Martyrs : for these *Sacrifices* and *Oblations* are the offering up of *Prayers* and *Supplications* to them. That I may fully reply to this, I must take the liberty of mentioning here what I had partly said before in my Discourse of *praying for the Dead*. The Christians in the 4th Century frequented the Tombs of Saints and Martyrs, and there honour'd their Memory, and therefore these Places were call'd *Memorie Martyrum*. The design of their Yearly Meeting here was to put the Christians in mind of the Lives and Actions, and of the glorious Deaths of those undaunted Champions of the Evangelical Faith, and to excite their Zeal for Christianity. St. *Jerom* and St. *Austin* inform us, that in *their Days* it was usual to assemble together in the *Coemeteries* or *Vaults*, where the Martyrs were interr'd, and there to commemorate their Virtues and Miracles, to inflame others to follow their Examples, and to encourage those, who had not yet enter'd upon the baptismal Vow, speedily to do it, and to become profess'd Christians. Yea, *Vossius* (in his *Historical Theses* concerning the *Invocation of Saints*) proves out of the Epistles of the *Fratres Smyrneses* set down in *Eusebius*, that this Practice prevail'd in *John* the Evangelist's Days. We are told, that this Commemoration of the Martyrs occasion'd all sorts of Devotion, not only the celebrating the Sacrament of Baptism (as hath been shewed before), but that of the Eucharist. But the chief Offices were the Anniversary *Prayers* and *Petitions*, and the *Praises* and *Thanksgivings*. These are call'd by *Tertullian* *Oblationes pro Defunctis*, and *Orationum Sacrificia* by him, and *Cyprian*; and by St. *Augustine*, *Sacrifices* very frequently. And (as far as we can learn) the whole Devotion of *Prayers* and *Thanksgivings* was directed to God only. But these Solemnities by degrees came to be perverted and corrupted, and the Commemoration of the Saints was

at length turn'd into *Invocation*. This was the second Rise of this Doctrine and Practice among the Antients. However, from what hath been said, we may gather, that at first there was no such Doctrine or Practice.

Thirdly, The Writers of the Church of Rome, insist that the Ancient Fathers of the Greek Church, *Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, &c.* use affectionate *Ejaculations and Prayers* to the departed Saints, of whom they speak, and whose worthy Acts they praise. I deny not, that these Fathers, in their Writings and Orations which they made in Praise of the Martyrs and departed Saints, use passionate Exclamations to them, but this might be done by them as they were *Orators*. *Chrysostom* (as well as these Fathers) is full of his *Rhetorical Strains*, and **Jerome* confesses that he himself made use of them sometimes. *Apostrophes* and *Prosopopæias* are a popular Sort of Oratory, and therefore 'tis no Wonder that we find them in the *Panegyricall Orations* over the Tombs of the Deceased Martyrs and Holy Men and Women, and in other Orations wherein they took the Liberty of Rhetorick. Tho' they turn their Speech to the dead, yet it is likely, they intended not any such thing as invoking them. *Hear thou excellent Soul of Constantine, if thou hast any Perception yet remaining, saith Gregory Nazianzen in his Oration against Julian the Apostate.* And thus he addresses himself to the Soul of his Sister *Gorgonia*, in his Funeral Oration on her, *Receive this Speech of mine, if there be in thee any Respect of the Honour we do thee, and if it be the Recompence of holy Souls to have a Resentment of these Things.* Where we see plainly, that he only uses this figurative Language as a Rhetorick, but doth not pray to the deceased: for he que-

* *Rhetoricati sumus, & in morem Declamatorum paululum sumus.* *Adv. Helvid,*

tions whether they can hear him, and whether they have any Sense of the things done here below.

But this must be granted, that these Rhetorical Allocutions to the Dead were one Original of Praying to them. And this I reckon as the *third* thing that gave Rise to this unlawful Practice. These figurative Modes of Speech drew on a Conceit of the deceased Saints hearing their Prayers. These unwary Expressions introduced a Belief even in that same Age, that it was profitable to put up their Petitions to the dead Saints. Yea, the very Orators themselves corrupted their own Minds with these their Apostrophes and lavish Strains of Rhetorick, and insensibly pass'd from these to real Addresses to the deceased. And truly I cannot wholly excuse *Gregory Nazianzen* from this; for tho' in some Places (as I have shew'd already) he seems only to rhetoricate, yet in some others we cannot but perceive a Formal Invocation of the departed Souls. In his *Oration* on *Cyprian* the Martyr he directly and plainly prays to him. So in the *Funeral Oration* on *Basil the Great* he wishes he may fare the better for his Intercession, and in the Close of that *Oration* he directs his Prayer to him in a very formal Manner. And in the End of his *Oration* on *Athanasius*, he prays to him. Any one may satisfy himself, that *Theodoret* in his *Religious History*, which is the Lives and Deaths of eminent Saints that lived about that time, concludes always with a Prayer or Wish for their Benediction, and their Intercession with God for him. It appears then that the Invocation of Saints was first practis'd about the latter End of the fourth Century. But we hear nothing of it in the Times of *Justin Martyr*, *Irenaeus*, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*. There is not one Example of it for the first three hundred and fifty Years after Christ. But about the very Entrance of the sixth Century it grew fashionable in some Men's Devotions, and at the Beginning of the next Age it was settled by *Gregory the Great*,

Great, and Prayers to Saints were inserted into the Publick Liturgies of the Western Churches. This is the true Date of the Invocation of Saints.

But then we must know, that this Doctrine and Practice were against the Sense of the chief Fathers and pious Writers of the Christian Church: and even when some invoc'd the Saints, many and most of the learned'st and godliest Fathers oppos'd it, and labour'd to beat down the growing Error. This they did jointly in the Councils of *Laodicea* and *Carthage*: and this they did singly in their Writings and Homilies. *Vigilantius* appear'd against the Invocation of Saints, and with great Vigour withstood that evil Practice: and *Jerome* was never so overseen as in his weak but passionate Attempts to confute him. **Epiphanius* positively asserts, that *God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are the only Persons to be called upon. No Man or Woman are to be invoc'd, no not the Virgin Mary.* †*St. Ambrose* expressly condemns the Behaviour of those Men, who apply themselves to the Saints to obtain God's Favour, as Supplicants do to King's Favourites, to help them with their good Word. || *We do not, saith St. Augustine, appoint to the Martyrs Temples, Priests, Religious Service, and Sacrifices, because they are not our Gods, but their God is our God.* Which is directly against Worshipping and Invoking the Martyrs and departed Saints.

That the *Antient Fathers and Writers of the Church* were of this Persuasion, is farther clear from the following Considerations; first it may be observ'd that whenever they treat of *Prayer* (which is a common Subject with them) they never speak of Prayer to the Dead: yea, tho' they treat of that Duty at large,

* Lib. 3. contr. Collyrid.

† Comment. in Epist. ad Roman.

|| Nec tamen nos Martyribus Tempia, Sacerdotia, Sacra, & Sacrificia constituimus, quia non ipsi, sed Deus eorum est nobis Deus. *De Civ. Dei. l. 8. c. 27.*

and expatiate on all the Kinds and Parts of it, yet they have not one Syllable of this. Which is an undeniable Argument, that these Writers did not look upon it as any Branch of a Christian's Duty. Again, we are to consider that the Antients were uncertain about the Place and Condition of the deceased Saints. It is universally agreed upon, that the Christians in the second and third Century were of Opinion, that departed Souls went not presently to Heaven, but were detain'd in dark Receptacles, and debarr'd of God's Sight; yea, that they were not to be admitted into Heaven 'till the last Judgment: Consequently there is not any the least Probability, that the Christians in those Times offer'd their Prayers to the deceased Saints, they being in an imperfect Condition, and not receiv'd into the State of Glory and Blessedness. And lastly, I might suggest this, that several of the Fathers, as *Athanasius*, *Hilary*, *Gregory Nyssen*, and others proved *Christ's Divinity* from the *Invocation of him*, and therefore we can't imagine, that they pray'd to Saints, or held it lawful to do so, because in doing this they would have made Gods of the Saints. Those Learned and Orthodox Fathers (especially the *first of them) argued thus against the *Arians*, who denied Christ to be God, and yet (as the *Socinians* do now) invok'd him; Christ, said they, is pray'd to, therefore we must acknowledge his *Godhead*. Which Arguing proves these two things, first, that Praying to Saints was not in Use in those Primitive Times; Secondly, that this is a sufficient Argument against the *Invocation of Saints*, that they are not Gods.

Thus I have been large in returning an Answer to the Popish Argument from *Antiquity*. I think they have not gain'd any thing by it, and I hope I have satisfied the Reader, that in the first and best Times

there was no Religious Invoking of any but God. * *Bellarmino* himself confesses, that when the Holy Scriptures were first written, it was not the Usage to make Vows or Prayers to the Saints. According to this great Defender of the Roman Doctrines, they cannot plead the Primitive and Best Antiquity. Or, if they could prove that some Hereticks in the first Times started another Opinion, and defended another Practice, this would be no Disparagement to our Cause, for we have observ'd before that the worshipping and invoking of Angels was even in St. Paul's Time: the same Apostle acquaints us, that the Mystery of Iniquity began to work in his Days.

There are some other Pleas in the Writings of the Pontificians for their Praying to the Saints, which I will briefly consider. They tell us, that this is a very innocent thing; for 'tis no more than desiring our Brethren to pray to God for us. The sick request the Prayers of the Congregation, and we may as well request the Saints to pray for us. If we beg the Prayers of the Living on Earth, why not those of the Living in Heaven? I answer, there is a vast Difference between these two; for, 1st, the former know our Wants, but the latter do not: the one hear us, but the other cannot. Therefore, it doth not follow, that we may call on the Saints in Heaven, because it is lawful to ask our Brethren on Earth to pray for us. 2^{dly}, The Papists do not pray to the deceased Saints in the same Manner, as they request the Prayers of the Saints on Earth: for these are only Companions with us in our Prayers, and join with us in our Petitions, but those are made use of as Intercessors and Mediators between God and us. 3^{dly}, We have a Precept to authorize our asking our Brethren to pray for us: *Eph. vi. 18, 19. Col. iv. 3. 2 Thess. iii. 1. Jam. v. 14.* but we have none to justify the other.

But some of the *Romanists* tell us, that they only Pray to the Saints, that they would pray to Christ. This is but a Pretence; and all their Books of Prayer shew the contrary: and besides they profess the Saints help them by their *Merits* as well as *Prayers*.

There are those that endeavour to excuse their Invoking the Saints by pleading their *Humility*. They are not worthy, they say, to make their immediate Addresses to God, and therefore it becomes them to offer their Petitions first to the Saints, that they may present them to the Divine Majesty, as Petitioners make use of some Courtier to present their Requests to the King. I answer, 1. The Worshipping of Angels came in at first, under the Shew of *Humility*, Col. ii. 18. and as this did not justify that Practice then, so neither will it the other now. 2. As to the *Similitude*, it is not applicable in the present Case: for 'tis not out of *Humility*, that the Petitions of *Subjects* are not presented to the King immediately, but from a Desire to have them prevail, namely, by means of a Friend at Court that presents them. But if we could suppose, that a King commanded all his Subjects to come to him Immediately with their Petitions, and promis'd to receive them from their own Hands, it would be no *Humility* but *Disobedience*, to make use of another Person to present them to him. And this is our Case; the King of Heaven commands us to call upon Him, and none else; and is always ready to receive our Petitions, and graciously to answer them. *If any of you lack Wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all Men liberally, and upbraideb not: and it shall be given him, Jam. i. 5.*

Lastly, Our Adversaries come upon us with a *Distinction* which they think renders the Worshipping of Saints, and particularly the Praying to them very excusable, yea very lawful. They distinguish between these two Sorts of Religious Worship, *latreia* and *dulia*, and tell us that one is proper to God, and the other to the Saints and Angels; and accordingly

ingly they give *Divine Worship* to the former, and *Religious Service* to the latter. But this is a vain and groundless Distinction: because the Words are indifferently taken both in the Old and New Testament. In the *Seventy's* Version of the former there is no Difference between them; and in the *Original* of the latter they are promiscuously used; of which Learned Writers have produced abundant Instances, which I shall not repeat here: and the incomparable **Vossius* among the rest is peremptory, that there is no Difference between them in *Classical Authors*. It is true, the Distinction hath been us'd in the *Schools*, but it is none of the *Fathers*, except *Augustine*, who (as he acknowledges himself) had little Skill in *Greek*: and where he uses the Distinction of *θελαία* and *λατρεία*, he doth it not to the *Papists* Purpose. In short, this Distinction of Religious Worship is disagreeable to the Stile of the Holy Scriptures, and is not made use of by the first Fathers and Writers of the Church (which *Bellarmino* himself also confesses) but is used only by those of the Church of *Rome*, to patronise, and yet at the same time to mitigate and qualify their Practice of Angels and Saints-Worship.

It is farther said by some Writers of the *Roman* Church, in Defence not only of the Worship of Saints, but of that of Angels, that there is a *Three-fold Worship*, namely, *Civil*, *Religious* and *Divine*. *Men alive* are worshipp'd with the first, *Angels* and *Saints departed* with the second, and *God* with the third. Even the Council of *Trent* propounds this Distinction as very sound and substantial, and tells us that Angels and deceased Saints and Martyrs are to be adored with *Religious Worship*, which is more than *Civil*, and less than *Divine*. But this Distinction, like several others of their own Coining, is superfluous, because *Religious* and *Divine Worship* are the same. If we will speak rationally and solidly, Wor-

† Theff. de Invocat. Sanct.

ship is but twofold ; 1. *Civil*, which is that outward Reverence that is given to our Fellow-Creatures. Thus *Abraham bow'd to the Angels*, whom he took to be three Men, *Gen. xviii. 2.* or if he knew them to be *Angels*, Bowing and all such Honour was due to them as most excellent Creatures of God. And *Men*, who are of Eminency and Worth, have the like Respect paid to them. *Then shalt thou have Worship in the Presence of them that sit at Meat with thee, Luke xiv. 10.* And we might give this Worship to Angels and departed Saints, if they appear'd to us, by uncovering the Head, by Bowing, or other Gestures of Reverence. 2. *Divine* ; that Adoration which is due to God only, and specifically differs from the former, because that is given to Finite Beings, but this is appropriated to an Infinite Being only. It is true, some of the same external Ways and Expressions of Reverence may be made use of and fitted to both Worships, *Civil* and *Divine*, as we read that by *David's Command all the Congregation bowed down their Heads, and worshipp'd the Lord and the King, 1 Chron. xxix. 20.* God and his Vicegerent are worshipp'd here in the same Manner, but yet the Worships are *vastly different*, because the one is given to the Infinite and Almighty Creator, and the other to a Finite Creature. Whence it follows that God is worshipp'd with a Worship that is *distinguish'd* from that which is paid to his Creatures, and that the one is properly *Divine* and *Religious*, but the other is only *Civil*.

Now, here Men are wont to offend these two Ways ; first, by giving those common Tokens of Respect (common both to God and the Creatures) to the Creatures as if they were *more than such*, and were endued with infinite Perfections, and such as belong to God only. There are two Instances in Scripture of undue Worship in this Kind : the first in *Acts x. 25, 26.* *Peter rebuked Cornelius for falling down and worshipping him* : not but that he might have

have worshipp'd him in a *Civil Way*; Prostration would not have been blameable if it had been of that Nature: but *Cornelius* made it a *Divine Worship*, that is, he apprehended more highly of *Peter* than he should have done: He look'd upon him as a kind of *God*, and being but a *Novice*, and partly a *Gentile*, he might easily do so. This may give an Account of *St. Peter's* dealing in that Manner with *Cornelius*. Or, we may say that *Peter* would not permit *Cornelius* to fall down or kneel to him, though he knew it was not in the way of Adoration to him as a *God*, because it might at that time have a *Shew* and *Resemblance* of such Honour: therefore the least Appearance and Shew of *Divine Worship* is forbid. The other Instance is in *Rev. xix. 10.* which I quoted before: the Angel there reproves *St. John* for falling at his Feet, and worshipping him, and so he doth in *Rev. xxii. 8.* telling him that he was his *Fellow-Servant*, and one of his *Brethren*. Which is the same Reason that was given by *St. Peter* to *Cornelius*, *I my self also am a Man*, that is, I am but a Finite Creature, as you are; I am no *God*, as you seem to take me to be, and thereupon honour me with *Divine Worship*: but you must not do so. On this Account the *Papists* offend, namely, by having such Apprehensions of the *Saints deceased*, as are not becoming them: as from the several Particulars before-mention'd it is evident that they make them no less than *Gods*, and give *Divine Worship* to them. Or, secondly, they offend in this, that tho' they look not upon the *Saints* as *Gods*, but believe them to be *Creatures*, yet they yield those Tokens of Reverence and Honour to them, which are proper to *God* alone, and more particularly they offer Prayers and Supplications to them. This they call *Religious Worship*, as distinct from *Divine*; but there is no Ground of distinguishing thus; for they shew all the Signs of Veneration in their Addresses to the *Virgin Mary* and other *Saints* which they express to *God* himself, and they pray to them oftner

ofiner than to *Him*. This shews the Vanity of the *Distinction* which they make use of.

I have now done with the *Pleas* and (as our Adversaries think good to call them) *Arguments*, that are generally used to maintain and uphold the *Invocation of Saints*, which is so frequently practised in the *Roman Devotion*.

I proceed in the next Place to establish the contrary Doctrine and Practice, and to shew that it is founded upon *Scripture* and *Reason*. Here then I will prove that we ought to pray to God alone, and not to Saints, because 1st. We have an expresse Word in Scripture for it. 2^{dly}. Because the Saints in Heaven are ignorant of what is done here. 3^{dly}. Because Invocation in the Nature of the thing itself, is due to God alone. 4^{thly}. Because Christ is our only Mediator. Any One of these Reasons is sufficient to confirm the present Doctrine: much more, when they are all consider'd together.

I begin with the first; This Doctrine is built upon an expresse Command in Scripture, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*, Matt. iv. x. It is written, saith Christ; and therefore it must refer to Deut. vi. 13. *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him*: and Ch. x. v. 20. *Him shalt thou serve, and to him shalt thou cleave*; that is, him only shalt thou serve, and to him only shalt thou cleave, in the way of *Divine Worship*: for so we see our Infalible Instructor interprets it, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him Only*. Whence we know how to interpret those and the like Texts, *Call upon me*, Psal. l. 15. *Seek ye the Lord*, Zeph. ii. 3. that is, call upon me only, seek me only, for these are part of *Worship*. But on the contrary, there is not any Command, either general or special, to authorise the Invocation of Saints. This is so plain a Truth, that a * Great and Learned Man of the *Roman Commu-*

* Card. Peron, cont. Jacob. Reg.

nion doth not deny it : yea he grants, that as there is no Precept, so there is no Example in all Scripture for it. And another eminent * Writer of that Church acknowledges there is no expresse Injunction of Christ or his Apostles for praying to the Saints. And we are sure, that there is no *Promise* to encourage those that do it: for *this* must be founded on the Command and Will of God. Those that put up their Addresses to the deceased Saints cannot (as we are bid by St. James) *ask in Faith*, Jam. i. 6. because this is asking according to the *Will and Word of God* : but these are so far from allowing, that they positively condemn the praying to Saints. From what hath been thus briefly suggested, it is evident that there is no Foundation for the *Roman* Practice in the Word of God ; and consequently it is unlawful, for *what is not of Faith* (which is built on the Word of God) *is Sin*, Rom. xiv. 23. But the other Practice is establish'd by the Word of God, which is the Rule of our Actions, and the Basis of our Faith, and therefore when we pray to God only, we *ask in Faith*, and with an Assurance, that our Prayers will be heard, and we have abundant *Promises* to support this Assurance.

Secondly, We ought to offer up our Prayers to God only, not to the Saints in Heaven, because these are ignorant of what is done here upon Earth, and therefore 'tis in vain to offer our Supplications to them. The Scriptures sufficiently testify, that the Dead, and particularly the departed Saints, have no Knowledge of things here on Earth. *I will gather thee to thy Fathers*, saith the Lord to King Josiah, *and thou shalt be gather'd to thy Grave in Peace, neither shall thine Eyes see all the Evil that I will bring upon this Place, and upon the Inhabitants of the same*, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 28. And of the Dead in general, Job thus speaks, *Thou sendest him away*, that is, out of the World :

* Salmero. in Tim. i. 2. Disp. 7.

His Sons come to Honour, and he knoweth it not: and they are brought low, and he perceiveth it not of them: he is perfectly a Stranger to what is done here below; he is ignorant of the State of his Sons, those that were most nearly related to him here; whether they be Rich or Poor, or whatever becomes of them, he is not in a Capacity to know. And this without doubt is the Meaning of *Ecl. ix. 5. The dead know not any thing*, that is (as the Context clears it) not any thing of the Affairs of this World: *neither have they any more a Portion for ever in any thing that is done under the Sun*; they are so far unconcern'd in the matters of this Life, which were as it were their Portion, when they were here, that they have not any Perception and Knowledge of them now. I will add only one Place more, which speaks particularly of the Saints in Heaven, and lets us know that they are wholly ignorant of our Condition here below, *Doubtless thou art our Father, and takest care of us, tho' Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not*, *Isai. lxiii. 16*. These godly Patriarchs knew not what was the Condition of their Posterity in succeeding Ages; they were unacquainted with all human Affairs; and therefore it was in vain for the *Israelites* in *Isaiab's* Time, or in any other Time, to apply themselves to them, and beg their Assistance. For the Argument holds good with Relation to all the Generations of Men; it is to no Purpose for them to call upon the Saints in Heaven, and to implore their Help: for they know nothing of the particular Condition of Men upon Earth.

But the Popish Doctors and Schoolmen tell us that the Saints have a way of knowing any thing that is done here below, because they see it in the *Glass of the Trinity*; and *Bellarmino* holds, they espy it by *Revelation*. They had as good have said nothing: for this is barely said, without the least Proof: and we see that the *Scriptures* assert the contrary, and expressly inform us that the Saints above have no Know-

ledge of the particular State and Circumstances of Persons in this World. Therefore on that Account we have no Obligation to pray to them, yea for that Reason 'tis unlawful to pray to them.

Thirdly, I prove it to be so, because in the very Nature of the Thing itself, Invocation is due to God only.

1. It is due to him as he is the *Creator* of all things. Thus the Psalmist founds Divine Worship on God's giving Being to this lower World and all the Parts of it. *The Sea is his, and he made it, and his Hands formed the dry Land:* (the Sea and the Land comprehend all this inferiour World) and then it naturally follows, *O come, let us worship and bow down: let us kneel before the Lord our Maker, Ps. xcv. 5, 6.* As God is our Maker, he is to be invoc'd; and he only. And again, *Pf. c. 3, 4. Know ye, that the Lord he is God; it is he that hath made us, and not we our selves,* therefore enter into his Gates with Thanksgiving, &c. make your Addresses unto Him, and call upon his Name, whether it be by Prayers or Praises. Invocation is a Worship that is not to be given to any *Created Beings*. The Scripture, as well as right Reason, appropriates it to the *Creator* only.

2. It is due to God alone, because he is *Omniscient*. *Hear thou in Heaven, thy Dwelling-place* — for thou, even thou only knowest the Hearts of all the Children of Men, *1 Kings viii. 39.* Praying is founded on God's knowing the Hearts; and this we are assured is the *Sole Prerogative of God, 1 Chron. xxviii. 9. Jer. xvii. 9, 10.* It must needs therefore be unlawful, yea idolatrous to pray to the Saints; for those that do so attribute Omniscience to them, they believe that they know their Hearts. Especially the ordinary People do verily think when they pray to them, that they are conscious to all they *Think, Say, or Do.*

3. To God only belongs the Homage of Prayer, because he is *Omnipresent*, and therefore can hear the Petitions of all Persons, wheresoever they are in any

Part of the World. This is the incommunicable Property of the True God. And yet the *Roman Devotionists* bestow it upon the Saints, and assert their Ubiquity; for it is supposed by them that they are present every where, and in all Places: for they address themselves to them in all Parts of the World whither they go; and consequently they ascribe that Attribute to them which is proper only to God.

4. As God is *Omnipotent*, and can do what he pleases both in Heaven and Earth, and (to speak all briefly) as he is the *Supreme Being*, and of infinite Perfections, he is on these Accounts the sole Object of our Prayers: and therefore those who invoke the departed Souls of the Godly, bestow that Honour upon them which is peculiar to the Deity. *Am I in God's Stead?* said *Jacob* to *Rachel*, when she said to him, *Give me Children, or else I die* --- *Gen. xxx. 1, 2.* *Am I a God to kill and make alive?* was the Reply of the King of *Israel* to the King of *Syria*, when this latter desired him to recover *Naaman* of his Leprosy, *2 Kings v. 6, 7.* And so in the like Sort, to pray to the *Virgin Mary* or any other Saint, whether He or She (as is usual amongst the Papists) for Children or for Health, or any thing of the like Nature, is making them Gods and Goddeses: for it is attributing that Ability and Perfection to them which belong only to the Almighty. Invocation implies an Acknowledgment of *Infinite Power* in him, whom we call upon: for it is this, that makes him the true Object of Invocation. Therefore we must not ask of any Creatures those things which God only is able to give. And I might add also, that he only is to be pray'd to, in whom we ought to fix our Faith, according to that of the Apostle, *How shall they call on him, in whom they have not believ'd?* *Rom. xiv. 10.* and for this Reason, among the rest, the Saints, who are but our Fellow-Servants and Brethren, ought not to be pray'd to.

In short, *Prayer* is a signal part of religious *Worship*, and *Hearing Prayer* is a peculiar Title of the most High: wherefore it is an Act unspeakably injurious to him, to call upon the Saints and to be persuaded, that they hear us. *O thou, that hearest Prayer* saith the *Psalmist*, *Psal. lxxv. 2.* thereby informing us, that it is peculiar to God to hear Prayer, and therefore he adds, *unto Thee, and Thee only, shall all Flesh come*, and make their Wants known unto thee. It can then be accounted no other than placing the Saints in the room of God, to make their Supplications to them. Who doth so, deifies them, and plainly transgresses against the First Commandment, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.* For he that prays to any other but God, makes another God to himself. This surely is a good and substantial Argument against the Invocation of Saints, and proves that we ought to pray to God only.

Fourthly, This appears further from this, that Christ is our only Mediator. *There is one Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus, 1 Tim. ii. 6.* There is but one Mediator, and that is our Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore there is no ground for our praying to the Saints as Mediators and Intercessors. *We have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, 1 John ii. 1.* We have this Advocate pleading for us with the Father, and we have no other. *We are to come unto God the Father by him, and by him alone, seeing he (and no other) ever liveth to make Intercession for us, Heb. vii. 25.* He alone appears in the presence of God for us, *Heb. ix. 24.* And even in this Sense it is true, that *no Man cometh unto the Father but by the Son.* Whence we may gather how false and how contradictory to the divine Discoveries is the Practice of Papists, who join the Saints with Christ in the Office of Mediator and Intercessor. They tell us, there is not *One Mediator* between God and Man, but many Mediators. They hold, that there are *more Advocates* with the Father, than
Jesus

Jesus Christ the righteous. They say we are to go unto God by the Saints as well as by Christ. They insist, that these make *Intercession* for us, and appear in the presence of God for us. All which is wholly derogatory to the Mediatorship of Christ, whose Office it is alone to sit at the right Hand of his Father, there to intercede for us. For this we are to know, that none can be our Mediator and Intercessor but our Redeemer, as is clear from the Connection of these Words in the fore-named Text, *There is one Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a Ransom for all.* We must not imagine that any Person is capable of acting as a Mediator in Heaven for us, but he that gave a Ransom for us upon Earth, and in so doing render'd his Intercession and Mediation valid and effectual. Away then with the blasphemous Doctrine of the Roman Church, that the Saints are our Mediators and Intercessors, and that for their Merits they prevail with God for us. This contradicts the Doctrine of the All-sufficiency of the Merits and Intercession of Christ: for if these be sufficient, what need is there of any other? Wherefore I conclude from what hath been said under this Head, that it is utterly unlawful, sinful, and idolatrous to pray unto Saints, and that it is our indispensable Duty to call upon God thro' Jesus Christ.

I have hitherto shew'd, that *Idolatry* is to be imputed to the Papists, because they give *divine Worship* to Persons, to whom it is not due. Now I'm to prove that they give it also to Things, to which it is not due: which is a farther Evidence of their Idolatrous Practice. First, They worship the Reliques of Saints, as well as the Saints themselves. *The sacred Bodies of Martyrs and others living with Christ are to be worshipp'd by Believers,* saith the Council of Trent. The 20th Article of the Tridentine Creed requires all Men to believe, that the Reliques of the

Saints are to be had in Veneration. And the * *Roman Catechism* teaches the same. Accordingly they translate the Bodies of the Dead or any part of them from one Place to another, that they may be the more conveniently shew'd and expos'd; and when Spectators resort to them, they bow down, and kneel to them, and say their Prayers before them; they kiss them, they offer Gifts and Presents to them; they watch at the Places where they are kept and reserv'd, they go on Pilgrimage to the Shrines where they are laid upon; or if they can get any the least Part of them into their Possession, they make all Signs of religious Reverence to them; they think them to be Charms and Amulets, and make use of them to that Purpose, yea they sometimes ascribe Miracles to them. If all this doth not amount to *Adoration*, it is hard to tell what doth. And yet this is the usual and avow'd Practice of the *Roman* Catholicks, and therefore we may pronounce them to be *Idolatrours*. Yea, they are as Silly as they are Idolatrours: for, as † one of their own Communion acknowledges, the shewing of Reliques is a great *Cheat* in the Church of *Rome*, and on that account condemns it as unlawful. Nay, from what hath been lately advanc'd by a famous § Father of the *Roman* Church about the *Catacombs*, it appears that he would have the deluded Christians of his Communion worship the Bones of *Heathens* instead of *Saints*.

Secondly, Worshipping the *Cross* is no infrequent thing among the Romanists. Not only the Reliques of the True Cross, on which Christ suffer'd, which they pretend they have; but also any Crosses set up, as Memorials of that Cross, are adored by them. We see that the ordinary Papists kiss a Cross, and prostrate themselves to it, and pray before it, and some that have been able, have built Churches to it. And as

* Par 3. c. 2.

† Cassand. Consul. Artic. 21.

§ Mabillon de Cultu Sanctorum Ignotorum.

for the individual Cross, to which our Saviour was fix'd, the wily Priests do marvelously impose on the Credulity of the People, and are wont to thrust any thing upon them as a Remnant of that Cross. Inso-much that a * learned Prelate of our Church hath these Words, " Had the Wood of the Cross grown " from the first Day it was set in the Earth till now " and born Crosses, it would not have fill'd so many " Carts, as that which now is in several Parts of " Christendom given out and adored for the true " Cross of Christ.

Thirdly, *The Sacramental Bread*, the *Host*, as they call it, is worshipp'd by the Church of *Rome*: which is another Proof of their *Idolatry*. They hold that the Eucharist is to be adored with the highest degree of Worship, even that which is proper to God; that I may not say that which seems to exceed Belief, I will produce the very Words of the Council of *Trent*. † *It is not to be doubted in the least, say they, that all the faithful People of Christ, according to Custom always receiv'd in the Catholick Church, do give to this Holy Sacrament, in their Veneration of it, the Worship of Latria, which is due to the true God. And whose holds it unlawful to do so, is & cursed by the same Council. Thus we see that the Adoration of the Host is settled by this Decree of the Church of Rome, and the Practice of the Church answers to it: for when the Priest lifts up the Host, he worships it himself, the People fall down and do so too: and 'tis well known that the Adoration of the Eucharist is asserted and defended by all the Roman Writers.*

* Bp. Hall.

† Nullis itaque dubitandi locus relinquitur, quin omnes Christi fideles pro more in Catholica Ecclesia semper recepto, Latriæ cultum, qui vero Deo debetur, huic Sanctissimo Sacramento in veneratione exhibeant, Sess. 13. Can. 5. de Eucharistia.

§ Si quis dixerit in Sancto Eucharistiae Sacramento Christum unigenitum Dei filium non esse cultu Latriæ, etiam externo, adorandum, &c. Anathema sit. Conc. Trid. Sess. 13. Can. 6. de Euchar.

But they endeavour to take off the Imputation of *Idolatry* by telling us that the Bread and Wine in the Holy Sacrament are turn'd into the real Body and Blood of Christ, and consequently they adore Christ, not the Bread and Wine; and so are not Idolatrous. But the Answer to this is easy, *Transubstantiation* is found to be a false Doctrine, and therefore, though the worshipping of the Host depends upon that, yet this Worship is idolatrous. It is *Idolatry* in the Papists to adore the Eucharist, tho' they believe Christ's Body is there: for they might shake off that erroneous Opinion; It is their own Fault, that they believe such a Lie. Therefore that is no Excuse to them, and cannot render them *no Idolaters*. Besides, Idolatry is to worship any Creature, whether the Persons *think* and *know* it to be God, or whether they *do not* think or know it to be so. Now, the Papists worship that which is a Creature, they give the highest Worship, even that which is due to the Supreme God and Creator of all Things, to a Creature, *i. e.* to the Host or consecrated Bread: and this cannot be any other than *Idolatry*. I have now but one Particular more to dispatch, and that is this,

Fourthly, The Worshippers of the Church of *Rome* adore *Images and Pictures*, and therefore they are idolatrous. The lawfulness of this is taught in their * *Catechism*. And the Words of the 21st Article of the Trent-Creed are these, *I do most stedfastly affirm that the Images of Christ and the Mother of God, who was always a Virgin, and of other Saints also, are to be had and retain'd, and that due Honour and Veneration are to be paid to them.* And that you may know what Honour and Veneration is to be paid to these Images, this is added, as the Reason of what had been said, † *The honour which is given to Images is*

* Par. 3. c. 2. & Par. 4. c. 6.

† Honos, qui eis exhibetur, refertur ad prototypa, quæ illæ representant: ita ut per Imagines, quæ osculamur, & coram quibus caput aperimus & procumbimus, Christum adoremus, & Sanctos, quorum illæ Similitudinem gerunt, veneremur. Conc. Trid. Sess. 25.

referr'd to the Prototypes or Things represented by them: so that by the Images which we kiss, and before which we kneel or put off our Hats, we adore Christ, and reverence his Saints, whom the said Images represent. The * Schoolmen and the * greatest Doctors of the Roman Church speak out plainly, and tell us that with one and the same Veneration the Image and the Persons represented by it are to be worshipped. And their angelick Doctor is positive, that the † same Honour is due to the Image and to the Original, and therefore a Crucifix is to be adored with the same Adoration that Christ himself is.

And besides, tell me whether Divine Worship be not paid to the Images of Christ and of the Saints too, when you read it in unquestionable Authors, that the Papists ascribe the Increase of Faith and good Works to the Crucifix, and directly ‡ pray to it, to increase Grace, and blot out Sins (as you may be satisfied in their *Pontificals* and *Missals*, particularly in the *Festival* of the *Invention of the Cross*); when you read that not only to the Image of Christ, but to those of the Saints they light up Candles and Tapers, they burn Incense, they uncover their Heads, they bow the Knee, they fall down, they creep on the Ground, they make Vows, they bring Oblations, and offer Gifts; when you read likewise, that they kiss these Images, they anoint them with Oil, they carry them about with them in Processions, they take Pilgrimages to them, they swear by them, they run to them in all Danger, and supplicate their Help, and put their Trust in them, and believe them to have some divine Power and Virtue in them to do them good; when you read, I say, that the Papists do all this, let them *distinguish* about Worship as long as they please, you have good reason

* * Suarez. Vasquez. Hales. Bonaventure.

† Idem honor debetur imagini & exemplari, ideoque Christi Imago est adoranda cultu Latriæ. Tho. Aquin. Sum. Par. 3. qu. 25. art. 4.

‡ See Gretser. de Cruce. l. I.

to believe and assert, that they give that Worship, Reverence, and Honour to *Images*, which are not due to any created Beings. And need I now prove that this is unlawful? When I have made it evident, that the *Saints themselves* are not to be worshipp'd, surely it will follow that we must not worship their *Images*, which are less worthy than they. And nothing is more plain, than that this Practice is particularly and expressly forbidden in the *second Commandment*, which condemns the making of any *Images* or *Similitudes* of Creatures to worship them. I refer the Reader to my * Discourse on that Commandment, where the *Reasons* of this Prohibition are assign'd, and where the Testimony of *Antiquity* against this Practice is produced; and the *Pleas* and *Excuses* of the Papists for it are particularly answered.

Thus I have gone through the several Heads I propounded, to evidence the *Idolatry* of the *Church of Rome*. I have only some few *Inferences* (according to my wonted Method) to add from the Premises: First, it is fit we should own and acknowledge this Truth, which hath been so clearly proved. Some of the *Roman* Catholicks are wont to purge themselves by saying, that we lay to their Charge those Things which they never assert about worshipping of Saints, and Images, &c. But I have not rely'd on the Opinions and Doctrines of a few; I have taken a Course to find out the true Meaning of the *Church of Rome*, by consulting her Canons in Councils, her Catechisms and the common Consent of the Doctors, and the universal Practice of all the Members of the Church. All these loudly proclaim the *Idolatrous Worship* of the *Church of Rome*. And we may be confirm'd and establish'd as to the Truth and Reality of this from the *Confessions* of the *Reformed Churches* abroad, and from our own at home. The *Rubrick* of the *Church of England* after the *Communion* saith posi-

* In Theologia Reformata. Vol. II.

tively, that the *Adoration of the consecrated Elements is Idolatry to be abhor'd by all faithful Christians*. The Homilies of the *Peril of Idolatry* attest this; so do the Injunctions of King *Edward VIth* in the Year 1547, and the Injunctions of Queen *Elizabeth* in the Year 1559, and the general Suffrage of all the Protestant Clergy amongst us, till Archbishop *Laud's* Time, who was a great Stickler against this Assertion that I have been maintaining, and he proselyted many of our Divines to his Opinion. In those Days and since, it hath been denied by some of our Churchmen that the Papists are guilty of Idolatry. But we see what is the Sense and Belief of our Church; and accordingly, if we adhere to her, we must own *Rome* to be idolatrous.

Secondly, Abhor the idolatrous Devotion of the *Papists*. To call them *Christians* is almost too soft a Name, seeing they merit to be stiled *Pagans* in respect of their Worship. That which the Apostle condemns in the *Heathens* we see daily practis'd by the Romanists, *they worship the Creature more than the Creator*, Rom. i. 15. The old and new *Rome* agree in this, the Paganism of the former is reviv'd in this latter. It hath been observed that the *Pantheon*, the Temple heretofore in *Rome* consecrated to all the *Heathen Gods*, is now a Church dedicated to the Virgin *Mary* and all Saints. We may truly assert, that if ever there was Idolatry among the *Heathens*, there is so among the *Papists*. Yea, our Church tells us, that ** the Church of Rome is guilty of the same Idolatry and worse than was among Ethnicks and Gentiles*. This should raise in us a great Indignation against the *Roman Religion*. If we say, it is *Idolatrous*, we can say nothing higher: for of all the Enormities that are mention'd in the Bible, none hath so black a Character as *Idolatry*.

Thirdly, Let your Practice be directly contrary to that of *Rome*: that is, worship the true God, and Him only. Pay no religious and divine Honour to any but him; as the Holy Scriptures, as the Example of the Primitive Believers, and as Reason itself, dictate. Appropriate Religious Worship to God alone, and deny it to all other Objects.

Fourthly and lastly, be very wary and cautious, and take heed of giving way to the first Appearances of Superstition and Idolatry in the Service of God. Men easily and insensibly step into false Worship; from unwarrantable Rites and Ceremonies, from setting up Altars, and bowing and cringing towards them, they may be tempted to proceed to a grosser sort of Worship. From indulging of Pomp and Gaiety in the publick Assemblies, they may gradually step into a mere sensual Religion. I can't but take notice here of a noble Undertaking of one of our Churchmen in his *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*, which is perform'd with great Industry and indefatigable Pains: but above half of the two Volumes consists of obsolete and antiquated Laws, of no use now; for the Rights and Privileges of the *English* Church and Clergy are not the same that they were of old, and a hundred Things appertaining to the Officers, Service and Ceremonies of the Church heretofore, are extinct and abolish'd since the Reformation, they being popish and superstitious. Wherefore this learned Author, in my Opinion, ought not to have reviv'd the Laws and Constitutions about Missals, Masses, Abbies and Abbots, Priests, Concubines, Exorcists, Lights in Churches, Monks, Nuns, Religious Houses, Holy Oyl, Holy Water, the Pix, Sanctuaries, Relicks, Pilgrimages, &c. These superstitious and popish Customs, Rites, Ceremonies and Practices should not have been brought upon the Stage again, but have lain dead and forgotten, lest some should be tempted to have a kindness for them, when they see them,

them, when they find them inserted into the Body of the ecclesiastical Laws of *England*.

To conclude, Let us not symbolize with the Church of *Rome*; let us not approach to the Borders of it; let us not comply with any thing that hath but a Shew of Idolatry, but let us keep at the greatest Distance from Popery, and all that looks like it.



C H A P. XVI.

Objection I. *Of the Papists, That the Protestant Religion is New and Upstart, Answer'd.*



Come now in the next Place to remove some *Objections* and *Cavils* of the Church of *Rome* against the *Protestant Religion*: which they are pleased to urge and insist upon with great Earnestness, and they think that thereby they much disparage, if not baffle our Cause.

It is objected, I. That the Protestant Religion is *New* and *Upstart*. II. That the Protestants *disagree* among themselves. III. That the Protestant Churches cannot plead *Succession*, as the Church of *Rome* can do. IV. That learned Protestants grant the Church of *Rome* to be a *True Church*, and that *Papists* may be *saved*, and consequently Protestants have little reason to exclaim against the Church and Religion of *Rome*.

First, the *Novelty* of the Protestant Religion is objected. Ours, say they, is a Religion, that hath *Antiquity* to vouch it: every thing that obtains in our Church is of an ancient Date,

Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.

*

Popery

Popery is an inveterate and establish'd Religion, and hath taken deep Root. But that of Protestants is a Mushroom, of a very late Rise, and newly come up. Where was their Church before *Luther*? No Man ever heard of any such thing before his time. Wherefore none can approve of the *Protestant* Religion, but those who doat on *Innovations*. Thus *Rome* pretends to Antiquity, and charges us with Novelty: but we shall find, upon examining the Matter impartially, that she hath no reason for this Pretence and Charge. For first, it is most evident, that the Romanists have no *real Antiquity* to depend on, because otherwise they would not rest on *Counterfeit Authors*, or such Writers as are not of that *Antiquity*, which they pretend they are of. This is acknowledg'd by some of the learnedest of the *Roman Church* of late, and they confess them to be *spurious*, and to have nothing of that *Antiquity* which they make a Shew of.

Again, why doth the Church of *Rome* order and command several Things to be erased and blotted out of the *Ancient Writers* of the Church? Is it not clear hence that Antiquity was against them, and therefore they are forced to suppress those Passages in those Writers which oppos'd their new Doctrines? This is very plain, and no rational Man can give any other account of their correcting and castrating the ancient Writers; no other account can be assign'd of their *Expurgatory Index*.

But I will go to work another way to demonstrate further to the Reader, what I have propounded, and particularly to shew that the Principles of the *Protestant Religion* cannot be *novel*, because they have been asserted, maintain'd and defended in *every Age*, and that those which we now call *Popish Doctrines* were in all those Times oppos'd and withstood by some eminent Christians and Lovers of Truth. And when Popery was risen in good earnest, which was about the middle of the Seventh Century, God

raised

raised up sundry pious and learned Men, who appear'd against the false Doctrines and superstitious Usages, which were then introduced, and instructed the People in the opposite Truths and Practices. Several opposed the *Roman Antichrist*, who was then brought into the Church, and the Corruptions that accompanied him. * Archbishop *Usher* tells us, that against the Worship of Images several Bishops at *Constantinople* remonstrated; and he saith, the Churches of *Germany*, *France*, and *Britain* did the same. And the whole *Greek Church* complain'd of *Phocas's* conferring the Supremacy on *Boniface*. Towards the latter End of this Century there were in *Scotland* several learned and godly Asserters of the Truth against the *Romanists*: *Clement* and *Samson*, two *Culdees*, withstood the Corruptions of *Rome*, particularly the Pope's Supremacy, Images in Churches, Celibacy of Priests, and Prayers for the Dead: for which they were excommunicated.

At the Beginning of the next Age stood up our learned Countryman *Venerable Bede*, a Priest belonging to a Monastery near *Durham*, a Monk of the *Benedictine Order*. He hath many things in his Learned Writings which touch the Pope and that Religion: and he is very free in laying open and reprov'g the *Roman Corruptions*. † *Flac. Illyricus* mentions some, that about the Middle of this Age preach'd against Traditions, Purgatory, &c. and were therefore persecuted by Pope *Zachary*. *Basilins*, *Zosimus*, *Metrophanes*, are mention'd by ‖ *Usher*, and others by the *Magdeburgenses*. At the latter End of this Century flourish'd *Alcuinus*, or (as some write his Name) *Albinus*, an *Englishman* (tho' others say a *Scot*) brought up under *Venerable Bede*, and Tutor to *Charles the Great*, who by his Persuasion erected the University

were in all those Times oppos'd and withstood by some eminent Christians and Lovers of Truth.

* De Success. Eccl. p. 33. 34. † Catal. Test. Verit. when

‖ De Success. &c. p. 39. 40. was about the middle of the 8th Century.

of *Paris*. He was famous for his Universal Learning, and gain'd great Reputation by opposing the Canons of the second *Nicene Council*, when the Adoration of Images was enjoin'd. He wrote a Book on the Eucharist, where he confutes Transubstantiation, and therefore several Years after his Death he was proclaim'd an Heretick by the Church of *Rome*.

In the *Ninth Century* there were diverse Witnesses against the Errors of the Church of *Rome*. The first and chief was *Johannes Scotus*, surnamed *Ærigena*, because he was born in the Town of *Aire* in *Scotland*. He was Tutor to the Emperor *Charles the Bald*, and Favourite of King *Alfred*, who made him the first Professor at *Oxford*. He writ against the Doctrine of the Eucharist, as it was held by the Church of *Rome*, for which he was forced to leave *France* and *Germany*, and to return to *England*, where, by Reason of his known Opposition to some Opinions and Practices in that ignorant Age, he was stabb'd by his own Scholars when he was reading to them. At the same time in *Scotland* several oppos'd the Doctrine of the Real Presence and Transubstantiation. In *France* there was *Bertram*, a Presbyter of that Church, who, when it was demanded of him whether the Body of Christ, that suffer'd on the Cross, was really in the Sacrament, he determin'd that it was not there. And by the Command of *Charles the Bald*, then Emperor, he wrote about that Matter, and argued against the Bodily Presence. This appears from the Records that are remaining concerning this Affair, notwithstanding what hath been lately suggested by a * *French Author*. So we read, that about the Middle of this Century was *Rabanus Maurus*, a German, Professor in the University of *Paris*, Abbot of *Fulda*, and afterwards Archbishop of *Mentz*. His Writings shew, that he oppos'd some Doctrines of Popery, and especially that of the Corporal Presence.

* *Mr. Boileau's Remarks on Bertram.*

At the same time was *Haymo*, an *Anglo-Saxon*, *Bede's* Scholar and Kinsman, Monk of *Fulda*, Abbot of *Hersfeld*, afterwards Bishop of *Halberstadt*; he trod in the Steps of his Master, and express'd his Dislike of several Disorders in the *Roman Church*: and in his Writings he defended the true Doctrines concerning the Fall of Man, Grace, Justification, &c. Now appear'd *Amalarius Fortunatus*, first a Monk, then Archbishop of *Treves*, who writ against Transubstantiation. *Hincmarus*, first a Monk at *Paris*, then Archbishop of *Rheims*, openly defied in Writing the Pope's Supremacy, and slighted his Decisions and Determinations: and he oppos'd several other Popish Doctrines. *Huldericus*, Archbishop of *Augsburg*, writ against the Celibacy of Priests. *Remigius*, a Monk, and afterwards Bishop of *Antisidore*, asserted several important Truths concerning the Church, the Eucharist, and Justification, which were run down by the Churchmen in those Days. *Claudius*, Bishop of *Tours* in *France*, (tho' some make him Bishop of *Turin* in *Piedmont*) decried Images, the Worshipping of Saints, Pilgrimages, &c. *Agobard*, Archbishop of *Lyons*, wrote against the Adoring of Images. *Lupus*, Abbot of *Ferrara*, defended the Truth in Opposition to Purgatory, Free-Will, Celibacy of the Clergy.

I pass to the following Age; which, tho' tis observ'd by Historians to have been almost void of Men of Learning and Eminency, yielded these two excellent Persons, *Smaragdus*, an Abbot in *Saxony*, who commented on the Gospels and Epistles, and hath several things against the Doctrine profess'd by the Church of *Rome*; and *Alfric*, the Abbot of *Malmesbury*, who preach'd and publish'd Homilies against the Real Presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament. Likewise one *Bernet* a *Scotch* Bishop defended the Marriage of Priests. And in King *Edgar's* Reign some Scholars and Clergymen in the University of *Oxon*, asserted that the Church of *Rome* was the

Whore of *Babylon*, and Monks and their Vows were declar'd against, by them : for which they were stigmatiz'd in the Face, and then banish'd.

The Witnesses to the Protestant Truths in the *eleventh Century* were these ; first, *Berengarius*, Archdeacon of *Angiers*, Rector of *St. Martin of Tours*, whereof he was a Native, a learned and religious Man, even according to the Confession of his Adversaries ; he oppos'd the gross Doctrine of the Sacrament, and openly preach'd against Transubstantiation and the Real Presence : yea, he held, that the Elements in the Sacrament are only the Signs and Figures of Christ's Body and Blood, and therefore he is a *Heretic* with the *Centuriators of Magdeburg*. What a vast Number of Profelytes he had, may be gather'd from what a noted Historian saith of him, * He having, saith he, fallen into Heretical Pravity, had almost corrupted all the *French, Italians, and English*, with his Pravities. This may satisfy us, what ample Testimony was given in those Times to the *Protestant Doctrines*, and how that which they call'd Heresy, but indeed was Evangelical Truth, prevail'd in the Minds of Men. It is not denied that he recanted his Doctrine, to save his Life, but the Truth is the same that it was. And 'tis to be remember'd, that when he got free from his implacable Adversaries, who thirsted after his Blood, he publicly own'd his Cowardice, and begg'd Pardon for it, and to the Day of his Death continued stedfast in the Profession of the Truth. Other Witnesses against the Corruption of *Rome* were *Bruno*, Bishop of *Angiers*, who cried down Transubstantiation : *Petrus Damianus*, Bishop of *Osti*, who writ against the Papal Height and Pride : *Fulbert* Bishop of *Chartres*, and *Ivo*, Bishop afterwards in the same Place, who writ very orthodoxly as to several Points, in the very Height of Popery :

* In hæreticam prolapsus pravitatem omnes Gallos, Italos, & Anglos, suis jam penè corrumperat pravitatibus. *Matth. Westmon.*

Anselm,

Anselm, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who maintain'd in his Writings the true Doctrines of Faith, of Justification, of Grace, of the Eucharist, &c.

The *twelfth Century* presents us with a great Number of Persons that abhorr'd the corrupt Opinions and disorderly Practices of the Church of *Rome*. Such were *Rupertus Tuitiensis*, an Abbot in *Saxony*, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, *Petrus Clunianensis*, Abbot of *Clugny*, *Petrus Blesensis*, i. e. of *Blois*, and Archdeacon of *Barth*. Among these we must reckon the devout *Bernbard*, the famous Abbot of *Claraval*, who tells us that there was no Part sound in the *Roman* Clergy; that those, who had the first Place in the Church were the chief in persecuting Christ. He had very right Opinions in Divinity, considering the Times he lived in. He was against the *Feast of Conception*, or the *Virgin Mary's* Freedom from Sin; he disdains the Doctrine of Merits, he dislikes the five supernumerary Sacraments, he approves of Justification by Faith only, and the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness: and in short he very freely complains of the Vices, as well as the Errors of the Churchmen in those Days. And this indeed was the usual Theme of those whom God had then enlighten'd. *Arnold*, a Scholar and Preacher at *Oxford*, in King *Henry I.*'s Reign, publicly rebuked the Popish Clergy for the Disorders of their Lives, and was most cruelly and barbarously handled for it. Another *Arnold*, who was of *Brescia*, protested openly against several Corruptions and Abuses in the Church; for which bold Attempt Pope *Clement III.* forced him to fly to the Emperor *Frederick*, and he afterwards deliver'd him up to the Pope, who soon condemn'd him to the Stake.

Johannes Sarisburiensis, a *French* Bishop, was a great Reprehender of the vicious Practices of the Ecclesiasticks: In the *Roman* Church, saith he, sit the Scribes and Pharisees. Again, the Legates of the Apostolical See tyrannize, as if the Devil was gone

forth from the Presence of God to scourge the Church. Moreover, the Church of *Rome* is not a Mother, but a Stepmother, and the Pope himself is burthensome to all, and almost insufferable. These Passages the Reader will find in *Polycratic*. 1. 5, and 6.

Peter Waldo or *Valdo*, a Citizen of *Lyons* in *France*, receiv'd the Gospel from those of *Piedmont* about the Middle of this Century, and presently he fell from Popery, and declared against the Pope and Church of *Rome* as Antichristian. He and his Followers, who were very many, inveigh'd against the Pope's Supremacy, Indulgences, Purgatory, Images, Praying to Saints, and most of the *Roman* Errors and Superstitions, insomuch that divers were prevail'd with to hate and renounce them. These *Poor Men of Lyons*, as they were commonly call'd, retired to *Languedoc*, and spreading on the Banks of the River *Alby* were call'd *Albigenses*: or were so call'd from *Albi*, a City in the *Upper Languedoc*, the chief City of *Albigois*. Here these Persons increas'd, and afterwards propagated their Opinions in other Places: they spread themselves all over *Lyonnois*, and all *Languedoc*, *Toulouse*, *Aquitain*, and *Argennois* in a short time. Thus it appears that these *Albigenses* were the same with the *Waldenses*, only the former have their Name (as we have said) from *Albi*, a River or City; the latter from *Waldo*, their Teacher. These were afterwards called *Lollards* in *England*, from one *Lollard*, a Disciple of *Waldo*, who preach'd against the Popish Doctrines.

Peter de Bruis in *France* threw off the Errors of Purgatory, Praying for the Dead, Transubstantiation, and most of the considerable Tenets of the Church of *Rome*, and proclaim'd her to be the *Babylon* spoken of in the *Apocalypse*. And it ought to be no Prejudice against him, that some of his Followers and who were called *Petrobrusiani*, ran into some ill Opinions and Doctrines, which are justly exploded by sober Men: for he is not to answer for the Extravagancies of others. In King *Henry II.*'s Time *Syl-*

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vester Girald, a Man of Learning, wrote against the wicked Lives of the Monks. *Joachim Abbar* towards the End of this Century, in the Reign of King *Richard I.* of England, expounded the *Revelation* to him when he was at *Calabria* near *Sicily* (on his Expedition to the *Holy Land*) and told him that *Antichrist* was the Pope, and that very Pope then at *Rome*. *Hildegardis*, a Nun, had a Prophetick Spirit, and foretold many things concerning the Reformation of Religion. *Begbot* was the Name of a wealthy Man that was famous for this Spirit of Prophecy; he inveigh'd against the corrupt Manners of the Nobility, and severely reprov'd the wicked Lives of the Clergy. Some say, he was the Founder of the *Beguines*.

In the Beginning of the *thirteenth Century* one *Almaric*, a Learned Man, a Doctor of *Paris*, denied Transubstantiation and the Bodily Presence in the Sacrament, and Invocation of Saints and worshipping of Images, for which he suffer'd Death: Others say, his Bones were burnt after his Death, because he had, when alive, declar'd against Popery. In King *John's* Reign, *Alexander*, an *Oxford* Divine, wrote against the Pope's Authority, and was banish'd for it. In the same King's Reign *Walter Maxes*, or *Mapes*, Arch-deacon of *Oxon*, preach'd and wrote against the Pope; the Name of the Book was the *Apocalypse of Goliab the Pontiff*; wherein he freely lays open the Enormities of the Clergy.

William, Bishop of *Paris*, better known by the Latin Title, *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, sharply inveigh'd and writ against the Abuses and corrupt Practices of the *Roman* Prelates, and calls the Church of *Rome* *Sodom*, *Babylon*, and *Egypt*. *Gulielmus de St. Amore*, a *Parisian*, and Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and Canon of *Belovacum*, lash'd the Pope and mendicant Friars, and is very impartial in taking notice of the Vices of the *Roman* Clergy, and the Abuses in that Church. *Joannes de Poliac*, his Scholar, did so too: their Books were condemn'd and burnt. *Everard*, a Ger-

man Bishop, called the Pope Antichrist, and the Roman Priests, Priests of *Baal*.

Robert Grossthead, the Learned and Pious Bishop of *Lincoln*, was (as the Historian rightly stiles him) a * *Terrible Reprehender of the Pope*, and (as he also calls him) † *the Maul of the Romans*. Witness his excellent Letter to Pope *Innocent IV.* who then fill'd the Papal Chair; in which he boldly remonstrates against the Vices of the Bishops of *Rome*, more especially their Greediness and Avarice, and their admitting of unworthy Pastors into the Church, and accordingly he urges a speedy Reformation. After he had thus discharg'd his Conscience, he undauntedly bore the Checks of the angry Pontiff, and when he was excommunicated by him, he defied both him and his Excommunication. In King *Henry III.*'s Reign *Dr. Strenbam* wrote and proved that the Holy Scriptures contain'd in them all things necessary to Salvation, and that other things founded on mere Tradition were not necessary. In the same Reign *Robert Bacon*, an *Oxford* Divine, a Monk, preach'd against the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*: for which he was imprison'd. Now lived and flourish'd *Matthew Paris*, a *Benedictine* Monk, who writ against the Frauds, Lies, Poms, Lust, and Tyranny of *Rome*. About the same time others spake aloud against the *Roman* Church, and condemn'd its Superstitions and gross Follies.

At the latter End of this thirteenth Century, or at the Beginning of the fourteenth, we may place *John Duns Scotus*, of the *Franciscan* Order, Doctor in the University of *Paris*, surnamed the *Subtile*. He was called *Scotus* from his Nation, and *Duns* from the Place of his Birth: for he was born in the Town of *Duns* in the *Mers*: tho' others say he was born in a little Hamlet called *Dunston* in *Northumberland*.

* *Terrificus Papæ Redargutor.* *Matth. Paris,*

† *Malleus Romanorum.*

This is certain and unquestionable, that he writ and preach'd against the Abuses of *Rome*, and against some Doctrines of Popery, especially against Transubstantiation, as a Doctrine contrary to Reason and Scripture. I proceed to the *fourteenth Age* of the Christian Church, wherein we shall behold an innumerable Company of Men decrying the Popish Opinions and Usages, and shewing themselves weary of them. *Arnold de Villanova*, a *Catalonian*, a Physician of great and extraordinary Fame in his Time, writ a smart Book *de Spurcitiis Pseudo-Religiosorum*, wherein he declares against the Defections of the *Roman Church*, and in many Particulars disallows their Opinions and Usages: for which this learned *Spaniard* was severely animadverted upon by Pope *Clement V.* *William Occham*, a *Friar Minor*, and a famous Schoolman, in King *Edward III.*'s Time, writ a Treatise against Pope *John XXII.* maintaining the Temporal Power to be above the Spiritual: for which bold Assertion he was forced to fly to the Emperor for Protection. Contemporary with *Occham* was *Marsilius of Padua*, who held that the Pope is not Christ's Successor or Vicar; that the Emperor is above him: and other things against the See of *Rome* he manfully asserted. *John Baconthorp*, a Schoolman in King *Edward III.*'s Time oppos'd the Pope's Power in dispensing with Marriages, contrary to the Divine Laws and Prescriptions. *Nicolas Lyra*, of a *Jew* became a pious Christian, and studied Divinity at *Oxford*, and made the *Postills* on the Bible, wherein he plainly discovers his Dislike of some Popish Doctrines, and on *2 Thess. ii.* declares, that *God's Grace departed from the Church of Rome long ago*. And he writ a Piece of the *Vision of God*, which strikes at the Pope. *Richard Fitz-Ralph*, commonly known by the Name of *Armaghanus*, because he was Archbishop and Primate of *Armagh*, one of the most eminent Scholars of his Time, presented to the Pope Nine Articles against the Order of Mendicant Friars: for which, and for what he

preach'd at St. Paul's Cross he was censur'd by the Pope, as a Person that was no good Friend of the Church of *Rome*. Therefore **Bellarmino* tells us, that this Author is to be read with great Caution, and he adds, that *Wickliff* took some of his Errors from him.

This is the Person I am next to speak of. *John Wickliff* appear'd at the latter End of King *Edward III.*'s Reign, and the Beginning of *Richard II.* and so on. He was Fellow of *Merton-College*, and afterwards Master of *Baliol-College* in *Oxford*; he was Doctor and Reader of Divinity in that University. He was a Man of Learning both Human and Divine, and so was able to grapple with the Learned'st Doctors of that Time. With indefatigable Industry he turn'd the Bible into *English*, to inform the People concerning the Sacred Truths contain'd in that Inspired Book. He preach'd and wrote against the Mass, Indulgences, the Worshipping the Host, Auricular Confession, Pilgrimages, the Pope's Supreme Power and Infallibility, the Celibacy of Priests, the Worshipping of Saints and their Images, and the rest of the Superstitious Practices of the Church of *Rome*: and he openly avow'd that the *Roman Church* was the Synagogue of *Satan*. In brief, by his Preaching and Writing the Idolatrous Worship of *Rome*, and the Pride and Usurpation of the Clergy began to be detected, and at the same time to be loathed. He was not only liked by the People, but he was favour'd by many of the Nobility, by *John of Gbant*, Duke of *Lancaster*, especially; yea, King *Edward III.* himself had a Kindness for him. And every Parliament took notice of the Corruptions and Abuses of the Bishops, and of the Church: their wicked Practices were censured, and their Persons were contemned. Some say, he travell'd into *Bobemia*, and laid the Foun-

* De Scriptor. Eccles.

dation of that Doctrine which *John Hus* afterwards propagated there; but I find there is more Ground to assert that his Doctrines travell'd into *Bobemia* than himself. His Followers in *England* were call'd *Lollards*, from one *Lollard*, whom I mention'd before; for this was the Name that was generally given to all that dissented from the Establish'd Religion.

Ralph Alton, a Doctor of Divinity of *Oxford*, liv'd in this Age, and was eminent for appearing against the Errors and Corruptions of the *Roman Church*. *Dr. Orum* preach'd against the Pope, and was the Author of the Epistle of *Lucifer to the Clergy*. *Dr. Killington* wrote against the Monks. *Joannes de Rupe Scissa*, a religious Friar, preach'd and writ against the Disorders of the Church in his Time, especially those that were conspicuous in the Lives and Manners of the Popes and their Clergy: for which he was burnt at *Avignon*. *Taulerus*, a *German*, Preacher at *Strasburg*, with great Boldness reflected on the Apostacy of *Rome*; and his Sermons and Postills frequently call'd for a Reformation. I might mention *Dantes* the *Florentine* Poet, who in his Verses struck at the Pope's Supremacy, for which after his Death he was condemned for a Heretick: and with him I may join *Francis Petrarch*, another *Italian* Poet, Archdeacon of *Parma*, who in his Epistles sharply corrects the Papal Head, giving him the Title of *Antichrist*, and *Rome* the Title of *Babylon*, and the *Whore of Babylon*. The *Begardi* and *Beguine* were in this Age, who are known to have highly deviated from the Church of *Rome*: but they are misrepresented by the *Roman* Writers, on purpose to render them odious. I will conclude this Century with *John de Trevisa*, a *Cornish* Gentleman, a Secular Priest and Vicar of *Berkly*. He attempted an *English* Translation of the Bible, which was a high Offence in those Days; he had a great Aversion to the Doctrine then taught concerning a Monastick Life; he disapprov'd of the Vow of Poverty; and was wont to say, he had read that Christ

Christ had sent Apostles and Priests into the World, but never any Monks or Begging Friars.

In the *Fifteenth Age*, which I am now coming to, there is a great Catalogue of eminently learned Men, who oppos'd the Popish Doctrines. In *England*, in King *Henry* the IVth's Reign, *William Sautre*, a Parish Priest, of *Lin* first, then of *London*, oppos'd the Worship of the Cross, and of Angels, and held that the Bread in the Sacrament after Consecration continues to be of the same nature that it was before. He was for those Errors pronounced an Heretick by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and burnt to Death; he was the first that suffer'd that Punishment for Heresy in *England*. About the same time suffer'd *John Badby* for adhering to *Wickliff's* Doctrine. In *Bohemia* appear'd *John Hus* and *Jerom of Prague*, who for opposing the Popish Errors were condemn'd to the Stake by the Council of *Constance*. But these holy Men had first converted many Thousands to the Truth; so that next to the *Waldenses*, these *Bohemian Brethren* were the greatest Numbers in any Country, that were brought over to the Orthodox Faith. *Albicus* Archbishop of *Prague*, was a great Favourer and Friend of *John Hus* and the Disciples of *Wickliff*. In the Council of *Pisa* there were many that declared for a Reformation of the Catholick Church in Doctrine and Practices, and they moved it with great Vigour. So that at last it was decreed by the Council that there should be a Reformation of Faith and Manners, and this should be both in the Head and Members. In *France* *John Jerson*, Chancellor of *Paris*, the greatest Doctor and learnedest Man in the Council of *Constance*, in a Speech that he made in that Assembly, told them that the falling away of which *St. Paul* spoke in 2 *Thess.* ii. might be seen fulfill'd in the Church of *Rome*. He was depriv'd of his Offices and Dignities, and fled to *Lyons*, and was by the Pope excommunicated and damned, because he wrote against the Abuses of the Pope and Clergy,

Clergy, against the Infallibility of a Pope or a Council, against Indulgences, against Human Traditions, and other groundless Notions maintain'd by the Papists. Another *Parisian*, Dr. *Nicholas de Clemangis*, Archdeacon of *Baieux* wrote concerning *the corrupt State of the Church*, and the *Simony of the Bishops*, and the *Vows of Nuns*, freely chastising the Exorbitancies of the *Roman Church*.

At the same time was *Petrus de Aliaco*, a Cardinal, Bishop of *Cambray*, and Chancellor of the University of *Paris*; he offer'd his Treatises of the *Reformation of the Church* to the Council of *Constance*, wherein he complains of the sundry Miscarriages, which the Church was then noted for. Cardinal *Cusanus* spared it not; and *Laurentius Valla*, a Canon of the Church of *St. John Lateran*, boldly deliver'd his Thoughts about the Corruptions of those Times. *Platina*, who wrote the Lives of the Popes, takes leave to correct their exorbitant Behaviour, and to reflect on several Misdemeanors under their Government. *Rudolphus Agricola*, of *Groning*, declar'd against human Traditions, against the Mass, and the forced Celibacy of Priests. *Wesselus* or *De Wessalia*, of *Groning*, declar'd against Indulgences, Popish Festivals and Fasts, Pilgrimages, Legends of Saints. *Baptista Mantuan*, Prior of the *Carmelite* Friars, inveigh'd against the popish Abuses, especially in the Clergy. And his Brother Poet *Jeffery Chaucer*, our Countryman, makes *Jack Upland*, a Country Fellow, jeer the Monks and Friars, and rally on other Abuses in the Church at that time. *Francis Zabarella* a *Florentine*, a Cardinal, a Lawyer, hath in his Writings lower'd the Pope's Authority and Greatness, and spoken contemptibly of several Usages and Practices in Popery. *Tostatus*, a *Spaniard*, one of great Learning and Piety, was no Friend to papal Authority and Supremacy, but oppos'd them, as the Romanists themselves confess. About the middle of this Century was *Aeneas Sylvias*, who in his Writings before he

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was Pope shew'd that he was against the imposing a single Life on the Clergy, and that he dislike'd other corrupt Usages in that Church whose Communion he embrac'd. *Abbas Panormitanus*, otherwise call'd *Nicolaus Siculus*, a famous Canonist, with some Warmth takes notice of the loose Lives of the *Roman* Clergy, and the unlawful abstaining from Marriage among them. Towards the close of this Century appear'd *Jerom Savanarola*, a *Florentine*, a *Dominican* Frier, who heartily and zealously wrote and preach'd against the chief Errors and Miscarriages of the Church of *Rome*, and boldly urged a Reformation: for which he was burnt at *Florence*. I might mention how in *England* many Men and Women in King *Henry* the VIIth's Reign, and several at the beginning of *Henry* the VIIIth's were Witnesses to the Truth, as our *Chronicles* testify, and record their being branded and imprison'd, and persecuted, and some of them put to Death.

I now pass to the *Sixteenth*, and *last* Century that I'm concern'd in. In the beginning of this (as well as in the latter End of the former) stood up *Johannes Picus*, Count of *Mirandola*, who disputed against some of the Opinions and Doctrines held by the Church of *Rome*, and shew'd himself a profess'd Enemy to many Practices allow'd by them, and was a great Exhorter to and Promoter of a Reformation. *Trithemius*, Abbot of *Spanheim*, did even in those Days maintain the Doctrines of Election, and Faith, and Justification, &c. *Martin Luther* arose in the Year 1517, and was by the Divine Assistance enabled to carry on that Reformation which all the other foremention'd Worthies aim'd at. Whole Nations and Countries imbrac'd the Protestant Faith: and even many of those who still continued in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, entertain'd an ill Opinion and Dislike of several of her Doctrines and Practices. This was seen in *Melanchton*; but more especially in *Erasmus*, who was also *Luther's* Contemporary:

temporary: in some Places he perstringeth the Idolatry of *Rome*; and in most he inveighs against the Splendour, Pomp, and Grandeur of the *Roman* Clergy. *Guilielmus Budæus*, Master of Request to the *French* King, a learned Man and a profess'd Papist, shew'd how mean an Opinion he had of the *Roman* Ecclesiasticks, whilst he complains of their Pride, Avarice, Luxury, Cruelty, &c. and cries out for Reformation in his Book *de Affe*. *Ludovicus Vives*, a *Spanish* Priest, writ against the worshipping of Images: and *Polydore Virgil*, an *Italian*, but Archdeacon of *Wells* in *England*, a profess'd Catholick, and Collector of the Pope's Peter-pence here in King *Henry* the VIIIth's Days, writ against the Order of Monks, as filthy and abominable, and condemn'd the Popish praying by Beads, saying that * *these are the chief Instruments of the Hypocrites feigned Devotion*. I will conclude with a celebrated Doctor of the Council of *Trent*, the Bishop of *Bitonto*, who was very earnest for a speedy Regulation of the Disorders that were in the *Roman* Church at that time, and openly in that Council spoke thus concerning the Pope and Clergy, *I wish they had not unanimously declined and fallen from Religion to Superstition, from the Faith to Infidelity, from Christ to Antichrist*.

Thus I have shewn that there have been *Testimonies* against *Popery* in all Ages. Its false Doctrines, its superstitious Usages, its Impostures and Cheats have been struck at ever since they sprang up. These Points of *Popery*, which we Protestants have renounced, were disliked and found fault with in every Century even by those who had been of the *Roman* Communion, and by some that still continued in it. The *Roman* Religion never went on without Interruption and Controul: it was never truly *Catholick*. In all Times there have been those that have declared against it. I know this hath been made good by other

* De Invent. rer. l. 5. c. 9.

Writers, but either they have not placed the Persons in the Centuries they appear'd in, or they mention'd some that are dubious and uncertain. I have taken care as to both these, and the Reader may depend upon the *Chronology*, as well as the Things that are asserted concerning the *Persons*.

From the whole then it will appear first, that Persons of *all Ranks* and *Qualities* have opposed the Church of *Rome*. Not only one Faculty or Function, but Men of all Studies and Professions, Statesmen and Divines, Priests and Laymen, the Learned and the Vulgar, have openly shew'd their Aversion to the Superstitions and Corruptions of the *Roman Church*. Nay, I might have added in the foregoing Catalogue, that Crowned Heads have always (when there was no Restraint upon them) withstood the main Point of Popery, that is, the Supremacy of the Bishops of *Rome*, and disliked other popish Innovations and Practices in the Church. How frequent in History is the Relation of *Emperors* and *Kings* opposing the *Pope* in several of his Demands and Commands, and refusing to yield to his Decrees? *Michael Palaeologus*, the *Eastern Emperor*, about *A. D.* 860. in a Letter he writ to *Pope Nicholas the First*, reproved him for his Arrogance and Affectation of Supremacy, and express'd his Detestation of the Worship of Images. There are Instances of this nature in the *Western Emperors*: but I will produce the Examples of some of our own *English Kings*. King *William* the Conqueror would not own the Papal Supremacy: for so he tells *Pope Hildebrand* (who sent to him to own Subjection to him) that he neither had nor would acknowledge it; and he found not, that any of his Predecessors ever did so. The Reader may find this recorded even by * one of the chief *Roman Writers*. King *William* the II^d, *Henry* the Ist, and others of our Kings denied and forbid Appeals to *Rome*. The foresaid *Wil-*

* *Baron. Annal.* A. D. 1076.

liam surnamed *Rufus* suffer'd not the Pope to claim any Authority over Bishops in his Realm, he slighted his Absolutions and Excommunications: he esteem'd the praying to Saints as an useles thing. *Henry* the II^d declared that it should be † High Treason in any Man to assert that the Pope's Authority was above his. Peter-pence were forbidden by Command of King *Edward* the III^d to be paid any more to the Pope. It was enacted in a *Parliament* in the 25th Year of this King, that it should for the future be Treason to bring the Pope's Bulls into *England* without the Consent of the King. In the Statute of the 16th of King *Richard* the II^d you may see how they declare and protest against the Pope's Jurisdiction and Usurpation. And in sundry other Instances it might be shew'd, how that in the Times of Popery, our Kings and Parliaments opposed the Pope's Supremacy, and exorbitant Power. And in lower Examples it is evident that Popery was condemn'd even by those of the *Roman* Communion: and their best Writers declare against the erroneous and vicious Practices of that Church.

Secondly, From what hath been said it appears that not a *Few*, but very *Many*, yea *vast Multitudes* of Persons have in all Ages withstood the Corruptions of *Rome*. These and many other Particulars we certainly know: and seeing these are recorded by Writers, we may reasonably guess that the Numbers are much greater: for we are to allow both for the *Wilful* and *Careless Omission* of many individual Passages. I might have added to the Number by producing *whole Councils* against some of the Popish Errors, as worshipping of Images, &c. yea I might have alledg'd *whole Churches*, that were not tainted with the Corruptions of the *Roman* Church, in the Times of Popery; such were the *Greek Churches* of *Constantinople*, *Antioch*, and in *Russia*. And we know

† Spelman Concil. T. 2.

that the great and solemn Separation of the *Greek Church* from the *Roman*, in *Gregory the IXth's* Days, about the Year of our Lord 1230, was occasion'd not only by the Dispute about the Procession of the Holy Ghost, but about the Primacy of the Bishop of *Rome*: and we are told that the Patriarch of *Constantinople* excommunicated the Bishop of *Rome*. Besides, whole Churches in *Africa*, as those of *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*; and the Christian Churches in *India* and *Persia*, admitted not the Corruptions of the *Roman Church*. All which is a Proof of what I assert, that the number of those that oppos'd Popery was always very great.

Thirdly and Lastly, From what hath been suggested we see that the Objection of the *Novelty* of the *Protestant Religion* is vain and trifling, and hath no ground at all: and we see how easy it is to give a satisfactory Answer to that trite Question so often put by the Papists, *Where was your Religion before Luther?* Our Answer is, that the main Doctrines of our Religion were in being, and entirely preserv'd by the *Antient Eastern Churches*, and other whole Assemblies of Christians beforemention'd: Our Religion, as to the principal Branches of it, was upheld by many of the *Learnedest Doctors* and *Professors* and the most eminent Christians in every Country; yea some Parts of it were kept up by some of the *Popes* and *Cardinals* themselves. Our Religion was among those old Professors of Christianity, the *Waldenses*; it was among the *Bohemian Christians*, among the Followers of *Wickliff* and *Hus*, among the great Assemblies and Congregations of pious Men in distant Parts of the World. For though they were separated from one another in respect of Place, yet they were united as to the chief Articles of the Christian Faith. All these were before *Luther*, and many of them several Hundreds of Years before him. These complain'd of the Tyranny of the Popes, of the wicked Lives of the Priests, of the Forgeries and Cheats, of
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the Errors and Falshoods, of the Superstition and Idolatry of the *Roman Church*. These were Witnesses raised up by God in every Century to bear Testimony to the Truths which are at this Day profess'd and own'd by the *Protestants*: and therefore I justly conclude, that they are not *Novel* and *Upstart* Doctrines, as our Adversaries object, but have good *Antiquity* to commend them.

Nay, here we could retort upon the Papists, and object to them the *Novelty* of *their Religion*. If we examine Things well, it will appear that they are the *Innovators*. It was almost 600 Years after Christ, before the Pope's Supremacy and Universal Monarchy were so much as attempted. It commenced first in *Boniface* the III^d's Time, who procured of the Emperor *Phocas* that *Rome* should be Head and Mistress of all Churches in the World. That the Pope hath Power over Kings and Princes, and can anathematize them and deprive them of their Dominions and Crowns, is wholly new. This Primacy was exercis'd not before *Gregory* the VIIth and *Paschalis*, which was at the latter End of the eleventh Century: and then *Alexander* the III^d and *Innocent* the III^d confirmed and encreased this tyrannical and usurp'd Government, and that by most wicked and villainous Arts. The Infallibility of the Pope was an unknown Doctrine to the Church for the first 1000 Years, as **Bellarmino* himself confesses. And as for the other Doctrines and Usages of the *Roman Church*, I have assign'd the Times when they began in the *Introduction or History of the Rise of Popery*, and therefore 'tis needless to repeat it here. This only I'm to observe, that the Date of their Doctrines is very late. Their gross Errors were not known to the Antient Christians, nor do we find them in the Scriptures. Though the Romanists brag, that

* De Rom. Pontif. l. 4. c. 2.

Antiquity is one *Mark* of their *Church*, yet we see from the *Instances* which I have produced, how unjustly she lays claim to it: and we see how reasonable it is to charge her with *Novelty*.



CHAP. XVII.

Objection II. Of the Papists, That Protestants disagree among themselves, Answer'd.



UT they hope to succeed better with their next *Objection* or *Cavil*, and that is this, The *Protestants* have left our *Religion*, but they are not satisfied with that which they have taken up. There is nothing but *Dissension* and *Disagreement* among them; they are divided into many *Sects* and *Parties*: but we are all unanimous, we have this unerring *Mark* of a true *Church*, namely, *Unity* and *Concord*. This is thought to be a very shrewd *Objection*, and it makes a great *Noise* among the *Roman Catholics*, therefore I will give a full and ample *Answer* to it in these several *Particulars*.

First, This very thing which the *Papists* object to us, was laid to the charge of *Christ* and his *Apostles* and the *Primitive Christians*: and therefore we are not to be concern'd, that it is laid to us. The *Heathens* (saith * one of the *Ancient Fathers*) upbraided the *Christians* after this manner, *Ye dissent among yourselves, and maintain so many Sects, which though they all claim the Title of Christianity, yet one of them curseth and condemns another. Therefore your Religion*

* Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 7.

is not true, and hath not its origin from God. And this they gave as one Reason, why they could not † believe, that is, be of the *Christian Religion*. Thus *Celsus* a great Man among the *Pagans* was wont to reproach Christianity with the *Differences* that were among those of that Persuasion, * They are torn and rent, saith he, into variety of Parties, and every one affects to have his own Positions and Determinations. This is taken notice of by § *St. Augustine*, as a thing usually objected to the Christians by the *Gentile Idolaters*. Now, it should not trouble us, that we fare as the *Ancients* have done. Nay it is to our Honour and Credit, that we are traduced as the *Ancient Christians* and faithful Followers of *Christ* were: that the same Things that were objected to them by the *Heathens* are now imputed to us by the *Papists*. And this is certain, that no Christian Man ever made it an Argument against the Truth of Christianity, that there were some Dissentions amongst the Professors of it.

Secondly, I answer, It cannot rationally be expected that those of the Protestant Religion should be without some Differences and Quarrels, seeing, if we consult the Records of the *New Testament*, and of the several Ages of the *Christian Church*, it will appear that there were always some Dissentions and Bickerings among those that professed Christianity. The best and holiest Persons disagreed in some Things, and there never was an universal Unity among Christians. *Paul* and *Barnabas*, Embassadors of Peace, Champions of the holy Cause, drew upon one another; they who had been Fellow-Labourers, and jointly took the Charge of the converted *Gentiles* at *Antioch* upon them, *Acts* xi. 19. they that had been sent with a Collection of Alms by the Christians of that Place

† Μη δὲν πιστεύειν διὰ τὴν διαφωνίαν τῶν αἰρετῶν.

* Τίμων, καὶ ῥίζος, καὶ εἰσὶν ἰδιῶς ἕκαστοι διδύμοι. Orig. cont.

Cels. § Lib. de Ovibus, cap. 15.

to relieve the poor Brethren at *Jerusalem*, Acts xv. they who had been great and intimate Companions behaved themselves like Enemies: insomuch that St. *Luke* the Physician, the Penman of the *Acts of the Apostles*, could not better express their passionate falling out than by a Term of his own Art, a *Paroxysm*, Acts xv. 39. which our Translators render a *sharp Contention*, to signify to us the Fierceness and Violence of it. And this Strife commenc'd but on a petty Matter, only whether *Mark* was fit to be their Fellow-Labourer, and to accompany them in their Travels: it was no matter of Faith or Doctrine, it did not concern the Substance of Religion: and yet the Contention was sharp and vehement, and ended in their departing from one another.

There was also a great Quarrel between St. *Paul* and St. *Peter* (even that *Peter* from whom the Papists hold their Church); and the former severely reprehended the latter, and withstood him to the Face; the occasion of which was that main Controversy that made such a Stir in those early Times of the Church, viz. concerning the *Legal Ceremonies*: for some thought, they were to be observ'd; others that they were to be abolish'd. The Contest was, whether *Judaism* might in part be kept on Foot, for the *Jews* Sakes, who were Converts or to be made Converts. In the famous Church of *Corinth* there were Emulations, Contentions, Strifes, and Debates. They were divided into several Parties; and rather than they would not fall out, they disagreed about the *Dignity of the Persons*, that preach'd to them, *Paul*, *Apollos*, and *Cephas*. St. *Paul* speaks of *false Apostles*, 2 Cor. and such as would pervert the Gospel of Christ, Gal. i. 7. And St. *John* and St. *Jude* complain of such as were actually making Divisions in the Church. There were downright *Hereticks* in that first Age, as *Simon Magus*, who denied that Christ was come in the Flesh; and *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*, who denied Christ's Divinity; besides their Heresy was a Mixture of *Judaism* and Christianity.

If it were thus in the first Times of the Church, whilst some of the Apostles lived, 'tis no wonder that afterwards we hear of greater Dissentions and Divisions, according to that Prediction of St. Paul, *I know that after my departing shall grievous Wolves enter in among you, not sparing the Flock. Also of your own selves shall Men arise, speaking perverse things to draw many Disciples after them,* Acts xx. 29, 30. When the Christian Religion prevailed more in the World, *Heresies* and *Schisms* prevailed also. To the former belong the Opinions of the *Arians*, *Eutychians*, *Nestorians*, *Macedonians*, *Pelagians*: to the latter the Contentions between the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches about keeping *Easter*, which lasted till the *Nicene* Council: the *Novatian* Separation, which commenc'd on the account of the *Lapsi*, and the Dispute about the rebaptizing of them: the Distraction in the *African* Churches caused by the *Donatists*, the *Circumcelliones* or *Parmeniani*. To which may be annexed the violent Struggles and Contentions which were between particular Persons in the Church, of very great Note and Eminency. *Ireneus* and *Victor* Bishop of *Rome* disagreed about the celebrating of *Easter*. *Cyprian* and *Cornelius* were at Odds about receiving the *Lapsi* into the Church. The former of these fell out with *Stephen*, another Bishop of *Rome*; for the one was for the rebaptizing of those that were baptized by Hereticks. but the other was against it; whereupon there was a hot Contest between them: yet these good Men who quarrell'd about a small Matter, died both of them Martyrs for the Christian Faith. *Epiphanius* and *Chrysostom* fall out about *Origen's* Writings, insomuch that the former wish'd that the latter might not die a Bishop; and the latter wish'd the other might never return to his Country. And the Event was accordingly; for *Chrysostom* was deprived of his Bishoprick, and *Epiphanius* died at Sea before he reached *Cyprus* his Episcopal Seat. There was a violent Contention between

Chrysostom and *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*. *Cyril* the Bishop of *Alexandria* and *Chrysostom* were averse to one another; *Nicephorus* saith plainly that the former hated the latter. This *Cyril* writ bitterly against *Theodoret*, another good Bishop, the one having fallen out with the other about the Acts of the first Council of *Ephesus* whereat he was present. *Jerom* and *Rufinus* were mightily incensed against one another on the account of *Origen's* Books, which the latter defended, and would have brought the former to his Side: but they most scandalously disagreed, and wrote *Invectives* most virulently against one another.

These Instances are a proof that good Men, even the worthiest Doctors of the Church and the great Champions of Christianity, have had Differences amongst themselves and have fought with one another. And we have seen before, that there were Dissentions and Divisions in the Apostles Times, and in the first Ages of the Gospel. Yea, Schism and Heresy were frequent in the Christian Churches. Now, let us apply all this, and we shall see, that the fore-mentioned Cavil of the Papists hath no Foundation. Tho' there were Differences in the Christian Church heretofore, yet our Adversaries do not argue thence against Christianity: so likewise neither ought they to accuse the Protestant Religion, because upon the Reformation follow'd Errors and Schisms, and because the Reformed Churches themselves disagree in some Points. We do not deny, that just after the Reformation arose the *Anabaptists* in Germany, who were against the Authority of the Civil Magistrate. About ten Years after that, *Islebius* appeared, who laid the Foundations of *Antinomianism*, soon after him arose *Casper Schwenckfelt* a strange Fanatick, who introduced the Principles of *Enthusiasm*. After these came up *David George* and others, who endeavour'd to root out the sober Maxims of Christianity. It was sad and deplorable, that before this, the Reformers differ'd among themselves, that the Dissentions were hot

hot between the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians* about the Lord's Supper, that Sacrament which was intended by Christ as a Pledge of Fraternal Love and Unity and Christian Communion among his Disciples: but it unhappily proved the occasion of Quarrels and Divisions, and unchristian Animosities. And since that time, the Controversies have been great about Predestination and Grace, and the Points appertaining to them: and *Socinus's* Followers have undermined the sacred Trinity, the Divinity of our Saviour, and his Satisfaction. Among our selves we differ about Modes of Worship and Terms of Communion, and the Extent of Conformity. And other Quarrels there are about Religion, or what Men take to be Religion.

But any considerate Man may observe that the Errors and Heresies of the late Ages are but a Revival of those that were before in the Christian Church: and the Controversies of the latter Times are not unlike those of the preceding ones. It were easy to draw a Parallel between the former Quarrels about *Easter*, about *Rebaptizing*, &c. and those that have obtain'd among the Modern Christians. What Advantage then have our Adversaries got by their *Objection*? Can they prove the Protestants to have no true Churches because of their Differences and Divisions? They may as truly affirm that there never was any true Church: for (as I have shew'd before) there were always Dissentions and Disagreements in the Christian Churches. When *Christ* came into the World, there were *Anti-Christ's*; when the *Apostles* preach'd the Gospel, there were *Hereticks* and *false Teachers*: and so it was at the *Reformation*. And the *Jews* and *Heathens* in those former Times might as justly have objected against Christ's and the Apostles Doctrines, because of those false Prophets, as the *Roman Church* can object against us, that there have been the like since.

Thirdly, It cannot seem strange to intelligent Minds that there are Contentions and Jars among *Protestants* about some religious Matters, and that there are Errors and Mistakes in the Reformed Churches: for the Consideration of the *Nature of Mankind*, and of the *good Ends to which God disposes these Differences*, will sufficiently clear this. First, the Nature and Disposition of Mankind should be consider'd: We are to remember, that our Judgments are naturally imperfect; we are apt to be perverted by Prejudice, by Ignorance, by Pride, by Self-Love and Self-Interest, by Affectation of Novelty, and by other corrupt Principles, which engender Error, and cause Distraction and Confusion of Opinions. Wherefore the *Papists*, who aggravate the Variance of Opinions, and upbraid the Protestant and Reformed Churches with their Differences among themselves, shew plainly that they understand not the Frame of the World, nor the Infirmities of Mankind, and the abundant Occasions of Error that Mortal Men are beset with. If they had an Insight into these, they would never expect that there should be a perfect Concord and Agreement, in any Sort of Men upon Earth, they would never wonder that they are not of the same Mind in every religious Matter.

Nor would they do this, if they consider'd to what *Ends and Designs* Providence disposes the Errors of Mankind. *There must be Heresies*, saith the Apostle, *that they who are approv'd, may be made manifest*, 1 Cor. xi. 19. that it may be known, upon Trial, who are sincere and sound in the Faith. And as they are intended to try the Faithful, so likewise to punish those *who receive not the Love of the Truth*, 2 Thess. ii. 11. who refuse to embrace it in their Hearts and Lives, and to yield Obedience to it. Moreover, Variety of Opinions is permitted by God, that we may be the more diligent and industrious in our Search after Truth. It is worth our observing what *Themistius* the Philosopher told the Emperor *Valens*, when he complain'd

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from him all his Armour, and divideth the Spoil; when Christ comes and reveals the Truth, and undertakes to destroy the Power and Kingdom of Satan, then there is Noise and Division, and all is in an Uproar. When God's Word is purely dispens'd, and Holiness and Godliness are urged with great Vehemency, the Devil bestirs himself in a more than ordinary Manner. It is observ'd by *Baronius* and other Ecclesiastical Historians, that in the ninth and tenth Centuries there were no Heresies or Divisions in the Church: One Reason of which is, that Fear and Force stifled them; and another is, that Wickedness and Debauchery reign'd in the Church in these Times, and the Thoughts and Contrivances of these so employ'd them, that they had no Inclination to enquire what was Truth, or what was Error.

But I proceed to the Sixth and last Answer to the Papists *Objection* about the Contentions of *Protestants*, and that is this, They make Peace and Unity a Badge of the True Church, and then apply it to themselves, and wholly exclude us, but do not in the mean time look at Home, and consider what Breach of Peace is among Themselves. I have all along granted that in *some Respects* they are all of a Piece, they have evil Methods and Arts of keeping up Peace and Harmony, they have Unity forced and extorted. But notwithstanding this, if we come to look into Particulars, we shall find that the Church of *Rome* hath as many Differences, nay as great, if not greater, than any that are observ'd to be among their Adversaries. Four and twenty several *Schisms* in the Church of *Rome* are particularly enumerated by a late Writer. As it was with the mutinous Assembly at *Ephe-sus*, which St. *Luke* in the *Acts* of the *Apostles* speaks of, so is it amongst them, *Some cry one thing, and some another*. You may see them (like the Cardinal Winds)

blow in one anothers Faces, and blast one anothers Credits. I will here crave leave of the Reader to trouble him with the Names of the *contrary Parties* and *Sticklers* amongst them, who are more irreconcilable than any of *Ours*. The two Orders of the *Dominicans* and *Jesuits* are odious and abominable to one another: and their implacable Division arises from their different Opinions about Free-Will, the Divine and Human Concourse, Grace and Predestination. They squabble and contest at a high Rate; and 'tis a frequent thing with them to impute Blasphemy to each other.

Again, the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* fall out about the Conception of the *Virgin Mary*, the former maintaining that she was conceiv'd as all other Children of *Adam*, and therefore was not free from Original Sin: the latter holding, that her Conception was not like that of others, and that she was not tainted with Original Pollution.

This is the same Quarrel with that of the *Thomists* and *Scotists*: The one with their Master, *Thomas Aquinas*, preach'd that it was Heresy to say, the *Virgin Mary* was conceiv'd without Sin: The other with their Master, *Scotus*, denied this, and therefore they caus'd the Feast of the Conception of the *Virgin Mary* to be instituted and solemnized in the *Roman Church*.

It is well known, how the *Jesuits* and *Sorbonists* differ about the Pope's Supremacy and Infallibility: The one holding the Pope's Personal Infallibility and Supremacy; the other holding the Superiority of a General Council above the Pope. And even lately (1682) the *French Clergy* have in their Determinations set Bounds to the Pope's Supremacy, renounced his Power in Temporals, and condemn'd his Deposing of Kings, which the Doctors of the *College of Jesus* do stiffly oppose and gainsay. Thus it is evident, that there are Dissentions among the *Romanists*, that this *Babylon* hath its *Confusion of Languages*.

Who

Who is a Stranger to the virulent Quarrels and Disputes between the *Molinists*, the Followers of *Molina*, a *Spanish* Jesuit, and the *Jansenists*, who take their Name from *Jansenius* Bishop of *Ypres* in *Flanders*? The Controversy between them is the same as to the Main with that between the *Jesuits* and *Dominicans*, namely concerning the Doctrines of Predestination, Free-Will, &c. There is vast Opposition made on both Sides, but the Fury exercis'd against the *Jansenists* is almost incredible. Those that are conversant in late Transactions can tell how they have been persecuted in *France*; and it hath been no less than Confiscation and Banishment not to subscribe against their Opinions.

There are lately Libels and Satires between the *Jesuits* and *Carmelites*, not to mention personal Quarrels of some eminent Fathers and Priests of that Communion. The *Jesuits* are a Sect and Faction, that are so odious to the *Venetian Papists*, that they are for ever banish'd out of that Republick.

That the Church of *Rome* hath Dissenters, is manifest from the late *Molinos*, the Father of the *Quietists* in *Italy* and *Spain*, who are against Images, Praying to Saints, &c.

The *Blacklowists* and *Anti-blacklowists* differ about Oral Tradition. And if I should descend to other Particulars, it would farther appear that these *Babel-Builders* have their Speech confounded; they misunderstand one another, and whilst they are crying up Unity, they confute it by their own Practice.

It is notorious what a numerous Rabble of *Schoolmen* the Church of *Rome* hath bred, of different *Denominations* and *Sects*, who confounded one another as well as their Readers, with their opposite Notions in Divinity.

And as for the diverse *Orders* of *Monks* and *Friars* in the Church of *Rome*, who sees not how they differ and dissent from, and even fight with one another? The *Hospitallers*, and the *Templars*, and the *Teutonic* were

were Religious Orders of different Constitutions and Laws. The *Carthusian* Monks were founded by *Bruno*, a German, but the Order was erected first at *Carthuse*, a mountainous Place about ten Miles from *Grenoble* in *France*. They are corruptly called *Charterhouse Monks*. Different from these are the *Benedictines* or *Black-Monks*, so named from *St. Benedict* or *Bennet*, an *Italian*, their first Founder. *Augustine* the Monk first brought them over into *England*, and afterwards by new Accessions and Additions to the Laws of this Order they were known by the Names of the *Cluniacs*, or *Cluniacenses*, from *Odo* Abbot of *Clugni* in *Burgundy*: and *Cistercians*, so called from one *Robert* of *Cistercium* or *Cistery* in *Burgoin*: and the Monks of *Grand Mont*.

But next come four Sorts of Religionists that call themselves *Friers* (for *Monks* live on their own, some tell us, but *Friers* beg for Maintenance;) and these differ as much from one another as from the foregoing Orders. There are the *Carmelites*, who have their Name from *Mount Carmel* in *Syria*, whence they first came: They are call'd *White Friers*. The second Order of *Friers* are the *Augustins*, in Honour of *St. Augustine*. The third are the *Dominicans*, called so from their Founder *Dominic*, a *Spaniard*: They are also call'd *Jacobins*, and *Black Friers*, and *Preaching Friers*. The fourth are the *Franciscans*, from *Francis* an *Italian* that first erected that Order: They are usually called *Grey Friers*, and also *Minorites*. They have several Sorts of them, as *Capuchins*, *Cordeliers*, *Observantines*, *Recollets*, &c. But the first have the greatest Esteem and Fame now: They are called so from the *Caputium* or sharp-pointed Hood or Cowl, which they wear. All these have different Notions, Maxims, and Observances relating to Religion and Worship; they quarrel and contend; they jar and jangle; they write and they preach against one another.

These

These are the Principal Classes of the *Friers*; but there are other Inferior ones, as *Trinitarians*, *Bons Hommes* or *Good Men*, *Crouched Friers* or *Friers of the Cross*, *Friers of the Sack*, *Bethlemites*, *Robertines*, *Minims*, &c. who have all one peculiar Principle or other, that makes them disagree with the rest.

There are at this very Day *new Dissentions* growing up amongst the *Romanists*, and the Conclave and Consistory are very much embarras'd with them. The *Missionaries* and *Visionaries* are unacceptable to other Parties: and 'tis fear'd by some that a new Model of Popery, as well as of Christianity, is coining in the *Jesuits* Brains. It is well known what Noise and Disturbance, what Confusion and Opposition Father *Quesnel's* late Writings have rais'd in *France*. The Pope's Bull which condemn'd them hath been disapprov'd of, censur'd, and rejected by the Archbishop of *Paris*, and by the best of the other Prelates, and Flower of the Clergy. The short is, there are great Feuds, Sects, and Divisions, among the Pontificians, and the Scene looks as if they would rend *St. Peter's* Chair in Pieces.

This may suffice as an *Answer* to that so often repeated Cavil of our Adversaries, *viz.* that *we Protestants* cannot be of the *True Church*, because we are not at *Unity* amongst ourselves. If they unchurch us, they make it their own Case, because it is apparent that they cannot agree among themselves. When the *Jews* and *Philosophers* of old objected to the *Christians* their Dissentions in some Matters of Religion, that excellent Father * *Clement* of *Alexandria* return'd their Cavil upon them, that they themselves had their several Sects and Factions. Yea, *Themistius* the Philosopher (whom I before mention'd) on the like Occasion told the Emperor *Valens*, † that he

* Strom. lib. 7.

† Μη δὲ ἐνὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ διαφορῇ τῶν χρησιμικῶν δογμάτων μικρὰν γὰρ εἶναι τὴν αὐτῶν διαφορὰν, ὡς πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν σύγχυσιν τῶν παρ' ἑλλήσι δογμάτων. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. 4. c. 37.

should not wonder at the *Christians* Dissentions about Religion; for they were very few in Comparison of the Multitude of Opinions among the *Gentile Philosophers*. Thus that Philosopher won upon the *Arian* Emperor, and caus'd him to abate his Fury towards the Christians. In like manner the *Romanists* ought to drop their fierce Objections against the *Protestants* for their Divisions, when they reflect on those that are within their own Bowels. Let them not complain of any Want of Harmony amongst us, whilst they have so little of it themselves.

But however, let us make this good Use of their Complaints, namely to unite and agree together more firmly for the future. Let their Hatred against us make us more friendly and peaceable towards one another. When they all unanimously agree against us, let us not fall out among ourselves; let there be an entire Agreement in the Fundamental, Essential, and Necessary Points of Religion: and as to lesser and indifferent Matters, let us be united in our Affections, tho' we are not so in our Judgments: and perhaps it was never design'd by God that we should be. So much in Answer to the *Papists* Objection about our *Sects and Divisions*: which, if they had consulted their own Credit and Reputation, they should have conceal'd.





CHAP. XVIII.

Objection III. of the Papists, That the Protestant Churches can't plead Succession, Answer'd.



ANOTHER Charge against us is, that our *Protestant Churches* can't plead *Succession*, but the *Church of Rome* can; and therefore she is a *True Church*, but the *Protestant Churches* can lay no claim to that high Privilege, and consequently are no *True Churches*. To which I return these several Particulars. First, The *Arians* of old boasted themselves to be a *True Church* from their *Succession of Bishops*: These, said they, succeeded in the Place of the Apostles, and Apostolical Men, who planted the *Christian Faith* in those *Eastern Parts*; and yet the *Church of Rome* itself condemns them (and that justly) as *Hereticks*. And if they were such, they could not be of the *True Church*: therefore according to the *Romanists* themselves, *Succession* is no valid Argument in the present Case.

Secondly, The *Patriarch of Constantinople* is able to plead *Succession*: for he is in the Seat of those who first brought the Gospel into that Country, yet 'tis well known that the *Greek Church*, and particularly the *Constantinopolitan Primate*, are pronounced *Schismatics* by the *Romanists*, and are accordingly anathematiz'd by the Pope every Year. Whence 'tis evident that *Succession* is of no Value with the *Church of Rome*, when she pleases.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Who sees not that this *Succession* is not to be found at this Day, nor hath for many Ages been known in *Africa*, and many Parts of *Asia*, where *True Christian Churches* are acknowledg'd to be? Therefore it is idle to insist on Personal Succession.

Fourthly, As to the *Succession in our own Church*, we have as much to plead in that Case as is necessary; and even as to the Interruption of the Succession of the Ministry, which is suppos'd by the Papists to have been at the *Reformation*, we are able to satisfy any unprejudic'd Person as to that Matter. They insist, that a little before or immediately after *Queen Mary's* Death, some of the Bishops fled, some were deprived, and others died; so that there were none (or but one at least who conform'd to Protestantism) to ordain other Bishops. They tell us, that Archbishop *Parker* was consecrated by those that were not Bishops; ergo the Consecration was void: and consequently there is no lawful *Succession* of the *English Clergy*. But this is a gross and wilful Mistake: for *Parker* was consecrated by four Bishops, *Barlow*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, *Hodgkins*; the two first had been Bishops in King *Edward's* Reign, and were now Bishops Elect of *Chichester* and *Hereford*. The third had been Bishop of *Exeter*, and was now (by the Deprivation of *Turbervile*) Bishop both as to Right and Title. The last was but a Suffragan Bishop, but being consecrated as other Bishops were, he had full Episcopal Power according to the Law to consecrate others. Thus the *Succession* of *our Church* is not disturb'd and broken off.

And so as to the *National Synod* or *Convocation* at that time, tho' the *Roman Catholics* have objected against it as illegal, yet the contrary appears to any considerate Man: for the Upper House, which consisted of Bishops, was made up either of those that succeeded in the Places of deceased Bishops who at that time were about ten or eleven (and surely these could be no Intruders, but lawful Successors in the respective Sees) or it consisted of those that came

into the Places of deprived Bishops, who refused the Oath of Supremacy : These were about thirteen or fourteen. So many Sees being void, these were Legally chosen into them, and consecrated. These were the due Representatives of the *English Church* in a National Synod, who with those of the *Lower House* of Convocation, make an entire National Council. Thus there is no Ground at all for the Cavils of the * Popish Writers against the Call of our *English Clergy* after the Reformation, and the Defect in their Succession. The Ministry in the *English Church* was not interrupted, but Bishops were ordain'd by Bishops. See this defended by *Jewel, Fulk, Field, Godwyn, Sutlif, Mason*. And as for the Fable of the *Nagg's-Head Ordination*, it is confuted by the *Records of the Crown* and the *Registers* of the See of *Canterbury*. In *Corpus Christi College* in *Cambridge* is the Original Instrument, describing all the Particulars relating to *Parker's* Consecration. This I thought good to add in Answer to the *Romanists* Cavil about the *Lawfulness of our Ministry*, and the *Succession of our Clergy* : tho' there was no absolute Necessity of proving this, for the Want of Succession doth not null our Ministry ; nor is that Ecclesiastick Ordination *indispensably* requisite to the constituting of a Minister. Where it may be had, it is necessary ; but not otherwise. In Case of *Necessity*, the People, or inferior Pastors may ordain such as they deem fit for that Work.

Fifthly, After all I have this to adjoin, that supposing we could not prove our *Succession* to be uninterrupted, I say *supposing* this (which there is not the least Reason to grant) yet this can be no valid *Objection* against our Clergy ; because the *Papists* themselves are not able to make out an uninterrupted *Succession* in their own Church, and among their own Bishops. They stumble at the very Threshold ; they are not certain, that *Peter* was Bishop of *Rome*, or

* Harding, Sanders, Parsons, &c.

that he was ever there. Or, if this be yielded, they are not sure who was *Peter's* immediate *Successor*, and who follow'd next. It generally goes thus, *Linus, Cletus, Clemens, Anacletus, &c.* But * *Epiphanius* and others are against this Order. † *Jerome* tells us, that many of the *Latins* held *Clemens* to be the next *Successor* of *Peter*. It is thought probable by some, that *Linus* was before *St. Peter*. Some will have him to be succeeded by *Cletus*. ‡ *Optatus* and || *Augustine* leave out *Cletus*, and bring in *Anacletus* after *Clemens*. § *Baronius* holds there were two *Anacletus's*; one was *Clemens's* Predecessor, the other his Successor; the first had two Names, and was call'd *Cletus* and *Anacletus*; the former Name is given him by *Ignatius, Irenæus, Eusebius*; and the latter by *Tertullian, Jerome, Damasus, &c.* Thus the *Romanists* talk of *Succession*, and yet can't agree in the first *Succession* of all, viz. who succeeded *Peter*. With what Face then can *Succession* be pleaded by the *Papists*?

Especially how can it, if we consider, that the True and Legal *Succession* of their Bishops is spoil'd several ways: as first, by the *Plurality of Popes* at the same time. There is sufficient History to prove that there have been two at once: yea, we are as sure that there were three at a time that pleaded equal Right to the Papacy; and accordingly they executed the Office of Universal Bishop, and actually perform'd those Parts of their Function which belong to it. A great Part of Bishops and Priests that are and have been a considerable time in the Church of *Rome*, derived their *Ordination* from some of those *Anti-Popes*: now, all such *Orders* are vacant and null, because all these three *Popes* were laid aside by the Council of *Constance*, and condemn'd and depos'd.

* *Hæret.* 27.† *In cap. lii. Epi.*‡ *Lib. 2.*|| *Epist. 161.*§ *De Rom. Pontif. l. 2. c. 5.*

Where then is the *Ordination and Succession* of the *Roman Church*?

Secondly, the *Succession* is spoil'd by the *Undue and Illegal Elevation of Persons to the Papal Chair*. "If any be install'd Pope thro' Bribery, or Favour, or Populacy, or military Tumult, without the Canonical Election of the Cardinals, let him not be accounted Pope." This is the Law of their Church: and consequently all those that have obtain'd the Papacy by the Methods here forbid, have broken the *Succession* of the *Roman Bishops*. It is notorious, and not denied by the *Roman Writers* themselves, that several Popes have been advanc'd to the Pontificate by Simony, by Faction, by Force of Arms, by Violence and Intrusion, and in brief, by undue Election. Pope * *Constantine* was a Layman, and yet climb'd to the Pontifical Honour, and held it two Years, and ordain'd several Presbyters. One of the Bishops of *Rome* was a Female, and mounted the Chair, and kept it about two Years. This was recorded first by *Rodolphus Flaviacensis*, a *Benedictine Monk*, a credible Author, who flourish'd about *A. D.* 930. a little after the She-Pope's sitting in the Papal Chair. *Marianus Scotus*, another considerable Author, testifies this, and saith, She held the Papacy two Years, and five Months, and four Days. *Sigebert*, a Monk, who wrote about *A. D.* 1100, tells us of this Female-Pontiff. *Martinus Polonus* relates this Story, a Writer of good Account, and a stiff Papist. *Martin the Minorite* is another Author, in his *Flores Temporum*. *Francis Petrarch*, a Learned Writer, confirms the same; as doth also *Anthony* Archbishop of *Florence*, a grave and serious Historian. Other Writers of Note relate the same, as *Raphael Volaterranus*, *Platina*, *Sabellius*, *Trithemius*, *Nauclexus*, *Baptista Mantuanus*, and several others. Thus the Line of *Succession* of *Roman Bishops* is broken by illegal Choice of Persons

that

that were not qualified for that Office. And before I leave this Head, I will only observe this, that the *Intention of the Priest* is necessary to the Validity of a Sacrament according to the Decrees of the Councils of *Florence* and *Trent*. Wherefore upon this depends the Making or Ordaining of Priests; and where there is not a *right Intention*, there is no right *Ordination*; consequently no Priest, no Pope; and so the *Succession* after this Manner may have been broken over and over again.

Thirdly, it is violated by the *Popes* being *Hereticks*: for such some of them have been, and have therefore been condemn'd and depos'd by Councils. Thus *John XXIII.* for denying the Soul's Immortality and other gross Opinions, and for wicked Practices, was deposed by the Council of *Constance*; and some others had the same Fate. It is confess'd by the Popish Authors themselves, that some of the Pontiffs were Atheists, some Sodomites, some Magicians, &c. Very credible Writers say, that *Sylvester II.* not only obtain'd the Papal Dignity by Diabolick Arts, but exercis'd them afterwards. *Baronius* in his Annals on *A. D. 912.* confesses, that "The Face of the Roman Church was become most filthy, and lewd; and imperious Strumpets sway'd all there: at whose Pleasure Sees were changed, Bishops placed, (which Religious Ears must needs abhor,) their Paramours were thrust into *St. Peter's Chair*, false Popes, who serve only to fill up so large a Space in the Catalogue of the Bishops of *Rome*." What could have been said more to our Purpose? *False Popes!* then we are like to have a *True Succession*. *Benedict IX.* *Sylvester III.* and *Gregory VI.* did mutually expel one another from the Papal Throne by Force of Arms: and they were so flagitious, that *Platina* gives them the Title of *three most filthy Monsters*, as I have observ'd before. Who can reckon such as these as lawful *Successors*, and how can they be reckon'd as such, when they are depos'd? For surely this would not

have been their Lot, if it had been thought that they had rightly succeeded. So then the Deposing of some Popes for Heresy, and other gross Miscarriages, shews plainly that the Church of Rome cannot plead *Uninterrupted Succession*, as she pretends.

Fourthly, the *Succession* is overthrown by the *uncertain Account* which the *French* and *Italian* Writers give of the *Popes*. The Lists which they produce differ very much: the former reckon several in the Catalogue of Popes, which the latter leave out. *Onuphrius* and *Platina* confess, that the Names and Acts of the Popes were very carelessly registred. *Bellarmino* corrects *Platina* and others that give an Account of the Popes Names and Lives; and he omits several that they reckon. So that here is a great Confusion: consequently the *Succession* cannot be clear. The *Papists* therefore vainly boast of a *True* and *Legitimate Succession*; and they as vainly object to us *our Want of it*: for if they are destitute of it themselves, they have no Reason to complain that we are so. To shut up this Head, *Continual Succession* is no valid Proof of the *Truth* of any Church, and therefore ought not to be insisted on. And tho' *Irenæus*, and *Tertullian*, and *Cyprian* speak much of *Succession*, yet they mean it of the *Succession* of *Doctrine*, rather than of *Persons*; or of *Persons* no farther than as they are the *Conveyers of that Doctrine*, as a *learned Man expresses it. And hear what is said by another, † *Succession of Faith and Doctrine*, saith he, is of more *Consequence* than *Succession of Persons*, and therefore there is no *Law of God*, whereby the *Right* which Men hold by the *Personal Succession* can, or ought, to hinder the *Reformation of Faith and Doctrine*. And lastly, I will add what Mr. *Dodwell* hath suggested on this Point, ‡ *In a Revolution of Ages*, saith he, *there is no Succession*

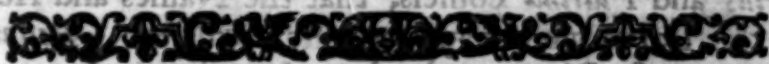
* *Stillingfl. Iren. Part 2. Ch. 6.*

† *Thomadike's Epilog. Book 1. chap. 8.*

‡ *In his Doctrine of the Church of England, &c.*

in the World but hath some unjustifiable Turn. This Testimony is the more considerable, because it comes from one who talks much of *Succession* in the Church, and is a Favourer of the *Roman Succession*; but we see here he blasts the Authority of it.

The *Fourth Objection* of the Papists against us is, That the learnedest Protestants grant that *the Church of Rome is a True Church.* But this I have answer'd in a particular and distinct Discourse which I have lately publish'd.



CHAP. XIX.

The Church of Rome and its Adherents prov'd to be Antichrist.



OW after all their Objections and Cavils against the Protestant Churches, there is one great and heavy Charge which I will make good against the Church of Rome, and that is this, She is the Church of *Antichrist*. That I may have sure Footing for all that I shall assert, I will ground my Discourse on those Texts of *Scripture* which particularly speak of *Antichrist*, and I will shew that they ought to be applied to the Pope and his *Adherents*, and the main Body of the Church of Rome.

I begin with 1 *John* ii. 18. *It is the last Time* (or according to the Greek, the *last Hour*, which is meant of all the Time from the Apostles to the final Consummation of the World) and, as ye have heard (from St. Paul's Writings, 2 *Thess.* ii. 3, &c.) that *Antichrist* (or according to the Greek, the *Antichrist*, he that is call'd so by way of Eminency) shall come, even now there are many *Antichrists*, there are already many les-

fer Seducers, who may be called Antichrists, and are the Forerunners of the Chief one. On this Text then I found these two Propositions; 1. There are many Antichrists. 2. There is one Signal and Notorious Antichrist, more remarkable and infamous than the rest. All Impostors and False Teachers and Corrupters of the Evangelical Truths are deservedly stiled *Antichrists*; that is, according to the double Import of the Word, they pretend to come in the Room of Christ, and yet at the same time are against Christ, and are Adversaries to him and the Gospel. The Apostle St. John tells us that there were such *Antichrists* as these in his Time, namely the Hereticks and False Prophets that disturb'd the Church. *Simon Magus* was the Father of them all, who was baptiz'd, but afterwards apostatiz'd from the Christian Faith, and held that Christ was not really and truly Born, and that he did not really Suffer and Die, but in Appearance only. So the *Ebionites* and *Cerinthians* denied that Christ was come in the Flesh, and they renounced his Divinity as well as Humanity. And many other palpable Errors they propagated in those Times, to which the Epistles of St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. Jude refer, as we may gather from the Description of those Hereticks in *Irenæus*, *Epiphanius*, and other Antient Writers. There were afterwards other Hereticks known by the Name of *Gnosticks*, and this was indeed the general Title of the Followers of *Simon Magus* and *Carpocrates*. We are certain that whosoever these *Lesser Antichrists* were, they were apostatiz'd Christians; for St. John expressly saith of them, *they went out from us*, &c. 19.

But besides these meaner Antichrists, who arose in St. John's Days, he lets us know that the *Grand Antichrist* was to appear afterwards. He makes a plain Distinction between these; the former, saith he, *are even now*; but the latter *shall come*. And as Christ had his Fore-runner, to make way for him, to prepare the Way of the Lord, so this *Great Antichrist* hath

bath his Harbingers and Messengers, who are also stiled *Antichrists*. It is of this *Great and Capital Antichrist* that I'm now to speak more particularly, for in a more restrained Sense there is but *One Antichrist*. This Name signifies in a peculiar manner the Head of all Antichristian Powers. There are many Antichrists, saith our Apostle, but there is *One* that surmounts them all. Of him there have been different Conceptions and Opinions, both of old and of late. Some of the *Antient Christians* held that he shall be a *Jew*, of the Tribe of *Dan*, and shall come a little before the End of the World, and rebuild the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and reign there, and restore the *Jewish Kingdom and Nation*, and be received by the *Jews* as the *Messiah*. They held that he shall make War with the Nations, and subdue the whole Earth, and reign three Years and a half, and then *Enoch* and *Elias* (who remain alive in the Terrestrial Paradise) shall come and fight against him. These are the *Two Witnesses* that shall be slain by him, and rise again at the End of three Years and a half, namely, at the coming of Christ. This was the Opinion of the *Greek and Latin Fathers*, and 'tis the general Belief of the Doctors of the *Roman Church* at this Day, who will by no means hear of any other *Antichrist*.

Others have made the great Antichrist to be who they please: *Constantine* the IVth surnam'd *Copronymus* was call'd *Antichrist* by those who were for Image-Worship, because he was a professed Enemy to it, as his Father *Leo Isaurus* was. Some distressed *Germans* took the famous *Gustavus Adolphus* for no other than Antichrist, when he invaded their Country, and committed those Ravages which forc'd them to abandon it. Some have fancied that he shall be the *Devil* in human Shape. Others have conceited that he shall be *Nero* alive again. By St. *John's* Antichrist *Grotius* understands *Barchocbas*, and sometimes *Caius Caligula*. If any one Person above others be meant by Antichrist, it is *Simon Magus*, saith Dr.

Hammond

Hammond. There is no Antichrist but *Sin*, saith *Henry Nicolas*, the Father of the *Familists*. Thus variously have Persons given their Judgment on this Subject, and have run wide of the Truth, and erred, not knowing the Scriptures; or rather some of them have been mistaken because they have not diligently attended to what those sacred Writings have deliver'd about this Matter.

That therefore which I shall undertake is this, to see what Directions and Helps the Scripture affords us towards discerning the Great Antichrist, and to shew how plainly it points at the Roman Pontiff and his Complices. For I do not confine Antichrist to one single Person: he is not one individual Man, but a Race of Men. This is according to the Usage in Scripture, where a Body of Men is represented as One Person. Thus Daniel expresses a long Series of Kings and their Kingdoms by four Kings, Dan. vii. 17. The High Priest in Heb. ix. 7. is the whole Succession of the Men of that Order. The Man of God is all faithful Ministers of the Gospel, 2 Tim. iii. 17. The whole Church is meant by the Woman in Travail, Rev. xii. 1. and by the Woman in the Wilderness, Rev. xii. 6. So by Antichrist is not meant one Person alone, but a Combination of Men: and this is that Body of Men which constitutes the Church of Rome. But the Pope himself is chiefly intended, because he is the Head of the Antichristian Government, Dominion and Authority, and the Cause and Author of the whole Execution and Administration of it. Taking it altogether, I shall prove it to be the Antichrist spoken of by St. John, 1. according to his Name, 2. according to the Description that St. John gives of him, 3. according to the Character of the Forerunners of Antichrist.

First, let us consider the Name *Antichrist*, and observe what opposes and what opposes Christianity. Is not the Church and Polity of Rome the great Opposer and Adversary of the Christian Religion? Is not a great part

part of Popery *contrary* to the expresse Laws of Christ? Who are they that so professedly speak and write against the Simplicity of Christianity as the Popish Doctors? What hath done more Mischief to the Gospel and the sincere Professors of it than the *Roman Confederacy*? Again, as to the other Denotation of the Title of *Antichrist*, as it signifies one that substitutes himself *into Christ's Room*, how fitly is this applied to him who stiles himself the *Vicar of Christ*? He is our Lord's Rival, he pretends to personate him, he usurps his Office, he is a false Christ. And so the whole Religion of Rome is only something in the Place of true Religion: it is a false and counterfeit Christianity, and their Church is a Mock-Church.

Secondly, The Pope and the Church of Rome are *Antichrist* even according to the Description which St. John gives of him. 1 John ii. 22. *Who is a Liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? He is the Antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son*: for by denying the Son directly, he doth by consequence deny the Father. Again, Chap. iv. ver. 3. *Every Spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is not of God: and this is that Spirit of the Antichrist, whereof you have heard that it shall come.* In both which Places St. John gives us it as a distinguishing Mark of the Great Antichrist, that he denies Christ to be come in the Flesh; which is the very thing which the Church of Rome denies; for tho' they do it not in expresse Words, they do not formally renounce the Article of our Saviour's Incarnation, yet in effect they do it by denying his Offices. They deny his *Kingly Office* by setting the Pope up as universal Head and Monarch of all Churches and People throughout the World. They deny his *Priestly Office* by maintaining the Sacrifice of the Mass, and Satisfaction and Indulgences, and by Prayers to Saints and Angels: for they set up these in Christ's Room, and thereby deny him to be the true and only Mediator between God and Men. They deny Christ's

Prophetick

Prophetick Office by disowning the Scriptures Sufficiency, and by asserting the Pope's Infallibility. Thus by these several Doctrines and Practices they implicitly deny Christ to be come in the Flesh: they do not acknowledge him to be that Christ who is set forth to us in the Scripture: they do not own him to be the true *Messiah* according to all his Offices: they do not ascribe to him the Prophecies of a perfect Saviour and Redeemer: this therefore is call'd justly *the Spirit of Antichrist*. And 'tis observable how fitly this is express'd in that forecited Text, *Who is a Liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ?* As much as to say, those Seducers and false Teachers who shall arise in the Church of *Rome* shall prove themselves to be the greatest of *Liars*, for when they openly profess that Christ is come in the Flesh, in Truth they do it not. They seem indeed to acknowledge Jesus to be Christ, but in reality they renounce this Doctrine; for they do not own him to be such a Christ as he is represented in the Gospel. They assert Things that are derogatory, yea repugnant to his Person, his Natures, his Attributes, his Offices, the Vertue and Efficacy of his Merits. And in derogating from Christ, they do so likewise from God the Father, and therefore it is deservedly said that this Antichrist *denieth the Father and the Son*.

This shews how appositely the Epithet ὁ Πειθοῦς *the Liar* is given here to the *Roman Antichrist*. Tho' he makes an outward Profession of God and his Son Christ Jesus, yet he denies them. Though he hath some specious *Form* and Shew of Christianity, yet he *denies the Power* of it. He talks of Christ, and his Birth, and Passion and Resurrection and Intercession, but renounces the Vertue and Energy of them. He owns the Christian Religion, but abuses, perverts and corrupts the chiefest Articles of it. Wherefore that of *Hilary* is applicable here, * *He that denies Christ to*

* Quisquis Christum, qualis ab Apostolis est predicatus, negavit, Antichristus est. Cont. Auxent.

be such as he was preached and declared to be by the Apostles, is Antichrist. The opposing of the Doctrines of the Apostles is a certain Mark of Antichrist: and 'tis evident that the Pope and his Disciples have abandoned the Apostolical Doctrine. Christ is not preach'd by them as he was by the Evangelists and Apostles. Or, when they seem to assert the same Doctrines, they in reality disown them, as I have shew'd above concerning the Offices of Christ. To which Purpose St. *Augustine* saith slightly, † “Antichrist is a Liar, because he professes with his Mouth that Jesus is the Christ, but denies him in his Deeds. Therefore he is a Liar, because he speaks one thing, and doth another.” This is the lying and deceiving Antichrist of Rome.

Thirdly, This Description which is given us of the Forerunners of the Great Antichrist proves that the Pope and his Adherents are that Antichrist. For we must grant that those made way for these, and therefore from the Doctrines which they dispers'd and propagated, and from the Practices which they indulg'd themselves in, we may gather that Rome is the Great Antichrist. I have partly mention'd their Character before according to the account which is given us in ancient Writers of the Followers of *Simon Magus*, of the *Nicolaites*, of *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*, of *Menander* and *Carpocrates*, and the Sect of the *Gnosticks*. These last especially may be said to be the Forerunners of the Papal Antichrist, as they subverted the great and substantial Doctrines of the Gospel, as they pretended to an Excess of Severity in some Things, and to Abstinence from certain Meats; as they were loose and extravagant in other Things, and taught Immorality and Lewdness; as they were great Persecutors of those that dissented from them: all which Things

† Mendax est Antichristus, qui ore profitetur Jesum esse Christum, & factis negat. Idem Mendax qui aliud loquitur, aliud agit. Tract. 3. in Epist. 1. Johan.

shew them to be the true *Harbingers* of the Anti-christian Papacy.

But there is one thing more (and I shall a little insist upon it) wherein those Seducers and Hereticks agree with the *Romanists*, and that is their keeping up the *Jewish Ceremonies*. It is well known that the *Gnosticks* were *Judaizers*, and such are the *Papists*. They borrow many of their Rites from the *Mosaick Observances*, as *Holy Water*, *Purifications*, and *Washings*, *Consecrated Oyl*, and anointing with it, setting up of *Lights in their Churches*, erecting *Altars*, burning *Incense*, the *Priests Habits and Vestments*, elevating the *Host*, the *Utenfils and Ornaments of their Temples*, the shaving of *Priests*, *Vows*, *Jubilees*, abstaining from some *Kinds of Food*, placing *Holiness in the Observation of Days*, and in the *Difference of Meats*, making their Churches *Sanctuaries* or *Places of Refuge*, and many other things which they derive from the *Levitical Law*; and they defend and maintain them from those *Texts* which speak of those Things, as we may see in the Writings of *Durandus*, *Tostatus*, *Cajetan*, *Lorinus*, *Bellarmino*. They found most of their Rites and Usages on what they meet with in the old Ceremonial Law. Yea, they judaize in more Things than I have named: they, like the *Jews*, nourish *Blindness and Ignorance*, and implicit Faith: they reckon *Traditions* to be of the same Value and Authority with the *Scriptures*, yea they prefer them to the written Law: they esteem themselves to be the only People and Church of God: they bear the same Hatred to all that are not of their Persuasion. In some things the *Papists* outdo the *Jews*, as in officiating in an unknown Tongue, and keeping the *Scriptures* from the People; for the latter, and some of them only, have part of their Prayers in *Hebrew* which they understand not, but the whole Service of the former is in *Latin*, which the common People have no Knowledge of. The latter forbid only some Places of Scripture to be read by the People till they arrive

to a certain Age: but the former deny the whole Bible to the People. Thus a great part of Popery is *Judaical*, and thence we may observe how fitly the *Judaizing Hereticks* of Old made way for the erecting of the *Popish Errors*. And from the Character which is given of those lesser Antichrists we may prove the Pope and the Church of *Rome* to be the great and chief one.

Hitherto we have seen that the *Papacy* is expressly call'd *Antichrist*, and is the *Great and Signal Antichrist* according to *St. John*. Now, I proceed to enquire into other Places of Scripture, which will farther inform us about the same Truth. Any Man of unprejudiced Thought must acknowledge that the *Popish Antichrist* is plainly decipher'd by the Apostle *St. Paul* in the 2^d Chapter of his second Epistle to the *Thessalonians*. He there corrects their Mistake of his former Epistle about *Christ's coming*, which they apprehended, from their Misunderstanding what the Apostle had written, would be very speedy: but he lets them know that *that Day shall not come except there come a falling away first, and that Man of Sin be revealed, the Son of Perdition, &c.* I will briefly present the Reader with a *Comment* on the whole, which I question not will convince him that this part of the Chapter must necessarily be understood concerning the *Antichrist of Rome*. The Corruption which was to be and hath since been brought into the Christian Church by him is here signally stiled a *falling away*, a great, general and visible Apostacy of the Church from the Doctrines which were taught by Christ and the Apostles, and from the Worship which was prescrib'd and practis'd by them. The Head of this Apostacy is describ'd by these following Marks and Characters; first, he is call'd *the Man of Sin*, to shew that he is a notorious Offender and Criminal himself, and that he is the grand Author of Vice and Villany in others. The personal Enormities of the generality of the *Roman Pontiffs* are known to all that have read their Lives. The Historians of their own

Communion spare them not, because they knew it was in vain to conceal those flagitious Acts which were committed in the View of the World. And then, I need not shew what an Influence these had on the corrupted People, who were encouraged to increase their Vices, and to augment their Guilt by the Example of their spiritual Father and Ruler. Deservedly then is the Head of the Antichristian Church stiled by the Apostle *the Man of Sin*, though *his Holiness* be the Title which is given him by himself and his Followers.

The next Character is *the Son of Perdition*, that is, he is the great Author of the Destruction of the Souls and Bodies of Men. He is the *Abaddon*, the *Apollyon* spoken of in *Rev. ix. 11*. Though he pretends to be the universal Guide of the Church, and to conduct it into the way of Salvation, yet he by vile and wicked Artifices seduces it into Error and Falshood, fosters it in Superstition, and breeds it up in rank Idolatry. And as he thus destroys others, so he shall be destroy'd himself, and on that account also is call'd *the Son of Perdition*, the very Title which our Saviour gave the *Traitor Judas*, *John xvii. 12*. Whence we gather that the Pope is not the Successor of *Peter*, but of *Judas*, and shall, like him, go to his own Place, or, as we find it foretold in *Rev. xvii. 8*. *shall go into Perdition*.

It follows in the Description which the Apostle gives of Antichrist that *he opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is call'd God, or that is worshipped*: that is, the Pope as he pretends to be *Christ's Vicar*, and *Universal Head* of the Church, claims Superiority over all Emperors, Kings, Princes and civil Magistrates, who are call'd *Gods* in Scripture, and to whom Civil Worship and Honour are due. All the Earth is the Pope's Diocese, he is the chief Governor of the whole World: he hath Command over all the Rulers of the Earth. This High Priest is above all Kings, and accordingly he treats them as he pleases. They are known Relations, that the Emperor *Henry*
the

the IVth with his Queen waited bare Foot three Days together at Pope *Hildebrand's* Gates in frosty Weather: that *Frederick* the Ist held Pope *Adrian's* Stirrup: that Pope *Alexander* (*Adrian's* Successor) set his Foot on the Neck of the foresaid Emperor. * It is wonderful, saith an Historian of the *Roman* Communion, what King *Henry* the II^d of *England* suffer'd, how he submitted himself, and engaged to do those Things which a private Man would scorn to undergo in these Days. Pope *Celestine* the III^d, when the Emperor *Henry* the VIth came to *Rome* to be crown'd, set the Crown upon him with his Feet, and then kick'd it off, saying, *By me Kings reign.* Our King *John* took off his Crown from his own Head, and laid it at *Pandulphus*, the Pope's Legate's Feet, to be dispos'd of as the Pope thought fit. † *Luther* tells us that the Emperor *Sigismund*, the Pope's Prisoner at *Constance*, had a Deacon's Apparel put on him, and he read the Gospel to the Pope, as his Mass-Servant. I have shew'd before that deposing of Kings was voted laudable and christian by the fourth Council of *Lateran*, and practis'd by several Popes. Here I will add that the Church of *Rome* allows not only of the deposing but killing of crown'd Heads. The *Jesuits* are sworn Defenders of this Doctrine: among whom *Bellarmino* and *Mariana* are the chiefest, but others have in plain Terms asserted it. *Andreas Eudamen*, in his Apology for *Garnet*, tells us that this is the Doctrine not only of the *Jesuits*, but all the Divines and Doctors of the Church, yea 'tis the Suffrage of the whole Church. And we find that their Practice is answerable to their Principles: the Emperor *Henry* the VIIth was poyson'd in the Eucharist by a Monk. One of the same Character in *Swinsford* Abbey poyson'd King *John*. The Villain who laid Poyson on the Pommel of Queen *Elizabeth's* Saddle, design'd by it her Death. The *Roman* Catholicks intended by the Gunpowder Plot to take away the

* Machiavel Hist. Florent. lib. I.

† Colloq. Mensal.

Life of King *James* and the Royal Family. Two Kings of *France* together were stabb'd for favouring the Protestant Religion: the one fell by *Clement* a *Dominican* Frier, because he was not Papist enough; the other by *Ravillac*, formerly a Monk; but when he did that execrable Fact, a Solicitor, because tho' this Prince had been a Protestant, and turned Papist, yet he was not sufficiently vigorous: the bare changing his Religion would not serve. Both these Murderers were encouraged and applauded by the Pontiffs of *Rome*, it being their great Delight to dispose of the Lives of Princes according to their Will, and to have the Command of Scepters and Crowns, and furiously to drive over the Necks of Kings and Emperors. Thus they exalt themselves above all that is called God, or that is worshipp'd.

It is further added in the Character of this Great Antichrist that he *as God sitteth in the Temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.* By the *Temple of God* is meant the Church of those that call themselves Christians, where God is visibly and outwardly worshipp'd. And the Church of *Rome* particularly may be called the *Temple of God*, by reason of what it once signally was. It was the famous Place where the Christian Religion and Worship were. It was, as *Sozomen* calls it, the *School of the Apostles*, the *Metropolis of Piety*, and no Place was so eminent for Christianity as that. And 'tis call'd the *Temple of God* because it is so reputed by those that belong to it. This is the Church that boasts itself to be the only true Temple consecrated to Christ. Here Antichrist sits, here his papal Chair is placed, here is his Seat of Residence: yea, he sits over or upon this Temple (for so 'tis in the Original) which denotes to us his domineering over the Christian Churches, his usurping Supreme Power and Sovereign Authority over all Christendom. And here he shews himself that he is God, that is, he claims Prerogatives proper to God only. It is not enough that he is above the Church and Common-wealth, above all Bishops, Princes

Princes and Rulers, but he boasts he hath Divine Power, equal to God. Yea, he can controll Heaven, and he undertakes to dispense with the divine Laws and Commands. He challenges an Omnipotency, and hath by several Decrees and Acts endeavour'd to persuade Men, that he can do what he will, in Heaven, and Earth, and Hell.

That we may be further inform'd who is the Antichrist described here by the Apostle, 'tis added, *Ye know what with-holdeth, that he might be revealed in his time. For the Mystery of Iniquity doth already work, only he who now letteth, will let, until he be taken out of the way: and then shall the wicked be revealed.* The Antient Fathers were of Opinion that *what with-holdeth* and *he that letteth*, was the Roman Empire and Emperors: and accordingly they held that Antichrist was not to come till the Civil State of the Empire was destroy'd. So thought *Tertullian*, and accordingly saith, that **“For this cause the Christians*
“ were obliged to pray for the Roman Emperors:
“ for by their continuing, the horrid and grievous
“ Calamity of Antichrist was happily hindred. And
the Apostles Words are interpreted concerning the
*Roman Empire by † *Jerom*, † *Optatus*, § *Chrysostom*,*
** *Cyrill of Jerusalem*, † *Augustine*, and others. As long*
as this continued, the Man of Sin should be with-held,
should be kept back: but he was to appear upon the
disappearing of the Roman Emperors. St. Paul doth
not here expressly name these, saith St. Jerom, be-
cause this would have been injurious to the Christians
at that time, and the Emperors would certainly have
fallen upon them with great Fury. Therefore the
Apostle uses this darker way of speaking, το καλειχον
and ο κατεχων, that which with-holdeth and he that let-
teth: but we see what is the concurrent Judgment
of the Fathers of the Church about these Words:

* Apol. c. 32. † In 2. cap. Daniel. † Lib. 3. contr. Parmenian.
 § Homil. 42. in 2. Ep. ad Thess. * Catech. 15.
 † De Civit. Dei. lib. 20. c. 19.

they were persuaded that the *Roman Empire* was meant by them, and that the Government of the *Emperors* was to cease, that *Antichrist* might succeed in his Place. The *Man of Sin* was to arise when the *Roman Empire* expired, and this appeared in *Augustulus*.

Its beginning was in *Julius Caesar*, or rather in *Augustus*, when he had got the Victory at *Actium*, and when *Egypt* became a *Roman Province*. The *Empire* at last came to *Constantine the Great*, who divided it among his three Sons; and so the *Western Monarchy* was separated from the *Eastern*. Now they become two formal Empires the *Roman* and *Greek*. There were twelve in all besides *Constantine* (*Constantine the Great's Son*) that succeeded in the *Western* or *Roman Empire*, the last of whom was *Augustulus*. In him therefore ended the *Roman Empire* about *A. D. 470*, and consequently *that which was with-held*, and *he that let*, were taken out of the way. Therefore *St. Jerom* about this time hearing of the taking of *Rome* by the King of the *Goths*, called to mind this Text of the Apostle, and applied it, † *He that with-held*, saith he, *is taken away*, and we may understand thence, that *Antichrist* is approaching. At this time the *Roman* or *Western Empire* was destroy'd by the *Goths*; and *Augustulus* was ejected and deposed by *Odoacer King of the Heruli*: and the *Imperial Seat of Rome* was void, and not one Emperor appear'd in all the *West*, for the space of 325 Years, that is, till *Charles the Great*. There was no Pre-*tence* to a *Roman Empire*, for several Kingdoms were erected in *Italy* and the adjacent Parts by the *Barbarians* that invaded those Regions, as the *Goths*, *Huns*, *Vandals*. Wherefore it was no longer the *Roman Empire*, no more than the *Assyrian* was when the King of *Persia* seiz'd it, or the *Grecian*, when it was swallowed up by the *Roman*.

† Qui tenebit, de medio fit, & non intelligemus Antichristum appropinquare? Epist. ad Agerach. de Monogamia.

It is true, that *Charles*, the Great before-mention'd pretended to restore the *Roman Empire* about the Year 800, and he resumed the Title of *Cesar*; but it was a bare Title. And the *German Emperors*, who hold from him ever since are not Successors of the *Roman Emperors*, but only the Shadow of them. *Germany* is parcell'd out among so many Princes and Prelates and free Cities, that the *Emperor* deserves not that *Name*: and that his Heir is stiled the *King of the Romans*, is a Compliment rather than a Reality. And besides, 'tis a poor Claim to the *Roman Empire*, when they have nothing in all the *Roman Territories* in their Possession, all the Dominions heretofore belonging to the *Roman Monarchy* being otherwise disposed of.

Well then, we may conclude, that the *Roman Empire* was extinct in *Augustulus*, and then the *Impediment*, which the Apostle he speaks of being removed, *that wicked one was revealed*, the *Papal Antichrist* came upon the Stage. For before he was hinder'd by the *Roman Emperors*: the Seat was not void, he could not ascend the Throne till *Cesar* left it. The Sovereign Civil Power of the *Roman Emperors* would not suffer him to exert his Power and Jurisdiction fully. They could not both stand together, they were so great: therefore when one gave way, the other was ready to come into his Place. When *Rome* ceas'd to be the Seat of the *Emperor*, it soon after became the Habitation of *Antichrist*: and the *Roman Empire* was turn'd into an Ecclesiastical Empire or Hierarchy. This gives us a very plain and obvious account of this part of the *Apostle's Character of Antichrist*, and we cannot reasonably refuse to apply it to *Rome*.

There is only one Passage more remaining, to confirm us in this Application. The coming of *Antichrist* is *after the working of Satan, with all Power, and Signs and lying Wonders, and with all Deceivableness of Unrighteousness*. The *Papists* pretend to Miracles, which indeed are but Counterfeit, and wrought by the diabolical Aid: they deal in Falshood, Lies,

Legends, Fables, Impostures, Forgeries, pious Frauds (as they call them), sophistical Arguments, Fallacies, false Reasonings. They cunningly pretend Christ's Cause whilst they design the promoting of their own. All this is as 'twere proper and peculiar to *Popery*: and therefore it is call'd the *Mystery of Iniquity*, because it hath a Shew and Pretence of Holiness, but really contains in it the vilest Iniquity, the worst of Vices and Wickednesses. And 'tis fitly added, *God sends them such strong Delusions, that they shall believe a Lye*, το ψεύδος. *The Lye*, the Grand Imposture of *Popery*: for this is by way of Eminency call'd *the Lye*: because their whole Religion is one great Lye, one grand Cheat.

And now I appeal to the judicious and unbiass'd Reader, whether *this Chapter* be not a *clear Description* of the *Roman papal Antichrist*, whether it doth not without any straining and forcing, present us with his true and lively Portraiture. And I also appeal to the Reader, whether it be not very reasonable to reject and despise those Interpretations which some have fasten'd on this Chapter: as that of *Dr. Hammond*, who understands it of *Simon Magus* and the *Gnosticks* his Followers: tho' he of all Men can least maintain this, because he holds that the *Gnosticks* were in the *Apostles Times*, and that the *New Testament* refers to them often: whereas that Apostle here speaks of Impostors that were yet *to come*, and to be reveal'd afterwards: therefore his Opinion confutes it self.

By the *Man of Sin* *Grotius* understands the *Emperor Caligula*: but this Epistle to the *Thessalonians* was writ in *Claudius's Time*, whose Predecessor *Caligula* was: This hath been sufficiently proved. Besides, it can't be meant of *Caligula*, because it is said the *Man of Sin was to be reveal'd*: but according to *Grotius*, *Caligula* was then Emperor when this Epistle was writ. Further, *Antichrist* sits in the *Temple of God*, therefore 'tis not meant of *Rome Ethnick*. And lastly, *Grotius* makes the *second Epistle* to the *Thessalonians* to be writ before the *first*, to serve his own Purpose, which very few, I believe will agree to.

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do need not insist on Mr. Obadiab Walker's applying the Chapter to *Mahomet*, which was done merely to serve that Cause, which he had unhappily espous'd. Dr. *Lightfoot* will have it belong primarily to the *Jewish Nation*, but to maintain this, he falls into very strange and absurd Interpretations of the Words, and which no impartial Reader can brook: and besides, he confesses, that though the *Jew* is meant here primarily, yet the *Roman* is also to be taken in, as *Antichrist* here meant. Mr. *Le Clerc*, in his *Supplement* to Dr. *Hammond*, seems to encline to the last Author's Opinion, and will have the *Man of Sin* to be the rebellious *Jews*, and especially their Ringleader *Simon* the Son of *Giova*, spoken of by *Josephus*. And lately another learned Writer in his *Annotations* runs it upon the *Jews* likewise, namely the *Jewish Converts* to Christianity who apostatiz'd before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*.

These *Expositors* act the part well which they had taken upon them, that is, to shew that they are able to say something in defence of a new Opinion, and none perhaps could have said more. But I question whether they speak their own Minds; and when their Arguments on this Subject are compared, they will be found to clash with one another, and therefore I leave them at present to their mutual Confutation. But the Interpretation, which I have offer'd, is, I conceive, all of a Piece, and the several Parts of it are exactly consistent; and from the very *Harmony* of them we may infer the Truth of the whole.

Having dispatch'd this remarkable Place in the second Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, I proceed to handle some other notable Texts, and particularly those in the Book of the *Revelation*, which will also establish us in the Belief of what I am suggesting, that the Head of the Church of *Rome*, and the Upholders of that Religion are the *Great Antichrist*. In the 1st Verse of the 1st Chapter of this Book there are set down the three Periods of Time, to which this Book relates, *Write the Things which thou hast seen,*
and

and the Things which are, and the Things which shall be hereafter.

The first Division, namely of the Things which St. John had seen refers to the foregoing Vision in that first Chapter.

The second Distribution, to wit of the Things which are, comprehends the Vision of the then present State of the seven Churches, with Epistles to them, to instruct, admonish, exhort, and reprove them. I know there are some, who think that these seven Churches of Asia are the Universal Church of Christ in all Ages, to the End of the World, divided into seven Periods; Forbes, Cocceius, Dr. More, have done this Part well: but they all disagree about the distinct Periods, and therefore there is no Heed to be given to them. Mr. Brightman is positive in setting down the more particular Churches which are represented by those Asian ones, as the Primitive Churches till Constantine the Great by Ephesus: the Churches on forward from Constantine to Gratian, by Smyrna: those from the Year 380 to 1300 by Pergamus: those from 1300 to 1520 by Thyatira: the Church of Germany by Sardis: the French, Genevian, Dutch, and Scotch Churches, by Philadelphia: England by Laodicea. But there seems to me to be more Invention and Subtily in these Applications than Truth and Solidity: and therefore I apprehend that the Vision concerning these Asian Churches is to be confin'd and completed in these individual Churches. This is the second Division of Time, viz. the Present that is observed in this Book: and accordingly in the 2^d and 3^d Chapters the present Condition of the Asian Churches is represented.

The third Division is of the Things that shall be hereafter, that is, after the time when St. John had his Revelation, which was towards the end of Domitian's Reign, about A. D. 97. according to Eusebius in his Chronicon, and according to Irenæus in his Book against Heresies, and St. Jerom in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers. The Things that were to come to pass

pass after this time, are set down in the 4th Chapter of this Book, and in all the rest that follow. They are contain'd in several Visions, as 1st, the Vision of the seven Seals. 2^d, of the Trumpets. 3^d, of the Vials. 4th, of the Day of Judgment. 5th, of the *New Jerusalem*, and several other preparatory Visions.

From the 4th to the 12th Chapter is foretold the Destruction of the *Jewish State* by the *Romans*, saith Dr. *Hammond*. And both he and *Grotius* apply the *Seals* and *Trumpets* to the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; and the various Judgments that befell that miserable People. But this can't be, because *John* lived after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; and the *Revelation* was communicated to him in *Domitian's* Time, who succeeded *Titus*: and therefore seeing this Part of the Book is of *those Things that shall be hereafter*, it is impossible that it should speak concerning the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*. Others think these Things are not spoken of the *Jews*, but of the *Christians under Persecution*; and what happen'd to them, some say, from *Popish Persecutors*, others say, from *Pagan Persecutors*. There are Probabilities on each Side: it is not my Business now to decide the Controversy.

That Part of the Book which reaches from the 12th to the 20th Chapter refers to the Punishments and Plagues that were inflicted on *Heathen Rome*, say *Grotius* and *Hammond*. Such were *War*, *Sedition*, *Pestilence*, *Drought*, and *Famine*, and *Fire*, (as Ecclesiastical and Prophane History report), and the Incur-sion of the *Barbarians*, *Persians*, *Goths*, *Almans*, &c. They further say, that here are contain'd the Infancy and Growth of the Christian Church in order to the *Heathen World*, till it came to get Possession of the Empire, partly by God's *destroying* them, partly by *converting* the Idol-Worshippers. But others are of Opinion, that here is predicted the State of the Church in reference to *Rome as 'twas turn'd Christian*, and then become *Popish*, i. e. not as 'twas under the *Heathen Emperors*; but as 'twas afterwards when *Chri-*
tianity

tianity became the Religion of the Roman Empire. Mr. Mede speaks broadly, saying that this part of the *Revelation* refers to *Rome christian and paganized again under Christianity*. Of this I shall speak fully, after I have mention'd the *other Division* of this Book, which I must do, to give you a brief Model and Survey of it.

The third and last Part of the Book, from the 20th Chapter to the 6th Verse of 22^d relates to the peaceable and flourishing State of the Church for a thousand Years: and after that the breaking out of *Gog and Magog*, and harassing the *Eastern Churches* are briefly touched, together with their Destruction. The new State of the Church is stiled the *New Jerusalem*, which is particularly described by St. *John*. Others take it to be a Description of *Heaven*, but I shall not debate this Matter it being not my present Concern. If the Reader will accept of my Conjecture, it is this, that it is probable, that the Book of the *Revelation* is not one *entire* and *continued Prophecy*, not a Representation of Things done *one after another*, as if the Chapters give new and fresh Discoveries of Things done in order of Time: But here's a Repetition of several Prophecies, and those Prophecies are many of them the same. Look not here for Transactions in a continued Course and Series of Years: but rather think that the State of Christ's Church as to *Persecutions* and *Deliverances* is presented again and again.

Having thus briefly given you the Scheme of this Writer, I will now undertake that Task which the *second Division* or Part of the Book occasions me. In two Chapters especially the *whole Mystery of Iniquity* is disclosed, the 13th and 17th. I begin with the former of these, in which are represented *two Beasts*, the one to signify the *Roman secular Government* or *Rome Pagan*, ver. 1st to the 11th, the other to express the *Spiritual* or *Ecclesiastical Power* of *Rome*, or *Rome after it was christianiz'd*, from the 11th Verse to the End of the Chapter. The former Beast hath

*

seven

seven Heads, much Wit and Brains to plot, and *ten Horns* of great Power and Strength to do Mischief. This might be a general Notion of it, but it is more signally and exprelsly applied and understood by what follows, and by comparing it with *Daniel's Visions* and others in this Book afterwards. For this *Beast* is the same with *Daniel's fourth Beast*, which had, as this, *ten Horns*, Dan. vii. 7. and as those *ten Horns* were *ten Kings* (ver. 24), so this hath *ten Crowns* on his Horns. This is the *fourth Monarchy*, the *Roman Empire*, described by *Daniel*: so that we see *St. John* confirms what that Prophet saith, and this Prophet gives Light to *St. John*. I might observe that *Horns* were a Hieroglyphick of Power, *Deut.* xxxiii. 17. and of *Kingly Power*; as in *Daniel* and the *Revelation* we find *Kings* are represented by the *Horns* of Beasts. The Coins of *Alexander the Great* and his Successors are to be seen at this Day, which represent the Heads of those Kings with a kind of *Horns*. And they antiently pictured Gods, Heroes, and Kings with *Horns*, as * *Olaus Wormius* and † *Ezekiel Spanhemius* have shew'd.

As for the *ten crowned Horns* in this present Vision they are so many *Kingdoms* and *Provinces* subject to the *Roman Empire*. There were more than ten: but these especially, *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, *Germany*, *Hungary*, *Asia Minor*, *Greece*, *Syria*, and *Affyria*, *Egypt*. And as for the *seven Heads*, nothing is plainer than that these are the *seven Hills* on which *Rome* was situated, and thence the Epithet given to *Rome* by one of the *Sibyls* is $\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\phi\phi\varsigma$, and in several Antient Authors it is call'd *Septicollis*. And indeed no City was seated on seven Hills but *Rome* at that Time when *St. John* had the Vision. *Constantinople* was built by *Constantine* afterwards, and situated on seven Hills in imitation of *Rome*: but the old *Byzantium* was not seated so. It is evident then that old *Rome* is here meant, and that the *seven Heads* are so many Hills on

* Monument. Danica.

† De Numism. Un.

which she was built. St. John himself puts it beyond all Controversy, when he saith, *The seven Heads are seven Mountains on which the Woman sits*, Rev. xvii. 9.

Thus far of *Pagan Rome*; next here is a Vision of *Rome Christian*, but *corrupted*, and in a manner *Pagan*. And so we see how fitly and properly the Vision of the former *Beast* precedes this: for hereby we may observe how this latter *Beast* arises out of the other, and hath its Dependance upon it. *I beheld another Beast*, saith St. John, ver. 11. different from the first *Beast*: because he is not the same individual *Beast*, and yet he is very like him: that is, *Antichristian Rome* resembles *Pagan Rome*. It is said that *he hath two Horns*, which fitly denotes the double Power and Jurisdiction which the *Roman Pontiff* pretends to, viz. that which is *Spiritual* and that which is *Temporal*. *He is like a Lamb*, and yet *speaks as a Dragon*, which is part of the Character of the *Romish Antichrist*, who boasts of Kindness to Men's Souls, and yet shews his Cruelty both towards them and their Bodies.

He exerciseth all the Power of the first Beast before him, ver. 12. that is, he assumes to himself the same Authority and Dominion that the *Pagan Roman Emperors*, who went before him, had. The old Dignity and Lordliness is renew'd and reviv'd in Antichrist: it is all transferr'd from the Empire to the Hierarchy. *And he causeth the Earth, and them that dwell therein to worship the first Beast*, whose deadly Wound was healed, that is, the Pope and his Clergy bring up that idolatrous Worship which was practis'd by *Pagan Rome*: and so though *Paganism* seem'd to have receiv'd a deadly Wound by the introducing of *Christianity*, yet in a short time this Wound was healed: for *Christian Rome* imitated the idolatrous Worship of *Pagan Rome*. *And he doth great Wonders*, so that *he maketh Fire to come down from Heaven on the Earth*, in the sight of Men, and *deceiveth them that dwell on the Earth*, by the means of those Miracles, &c. 13, 14. Which is an undeniable Character of the *Roman Papacy*:

pacy: for none boast of *Wonders* and *Miracles* as they do, and would be thought to fetch down Fire and Thunder from Heaven in their Excommunications and Anathemas, and thereby both frighten and delude the silly People; *Saying to them that dwell on the Earth, that they should make an Image to the Beast, which had the Wound by a Sword and did live, &c. 14.* that is, their Design is, that there should be set up such a Religion that resembles that of Gentile Rome; and thereby the old Gentile Worship, which was thought to be wounded and destroyed, would be reviv'd.

And so it was, for *he* (that is, the two horned Beast) had Power to give Life unto the Image of the Beast, that the Image of the Beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the Image of the Beast, should be kill'd, &c. 15. Which doth most graphically set forth the Nature of the Papal Antichrist, who by his Pretence of being the *Universal Head of the Church*, and having both *Temporal* and *Spiritual Dominion* over all Men, effectually sets up the Worship that prevail'd in Heathen Rome, and punishes with Death the faithful Servants of God, that refuse to submit to that Worship. *And he causeth all both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a Mark in their right Hand, or in their Foreheads, that none might buy or sell, save he that had the Mark, or the Name of the Beast, or the Number of his Name, &c. 16, 17.* Which is so naturally applicable to the Head and Rulers of the *Roman Church*, that a Man can't easily think that it is otherwise meant: for they are the Men, that force Persons of all Qualities and Degrees, Emperors and Princes as well as those of an inferior Rank, to truckle to their Ecclesiastical Laws and Government, and to comply with the idolatrous Worship of their Church; and all are compell'd to make open and publick Profession of the *Roman Religion*, and visibly to own it, as if they wore an open Mark or Badge in their Hands or Foreheads. Perhaps this alludes to the Custom in Syria and

and the neighbouring Countries, where *Slaves* and *Servants* had *Marks* set on their Hands and Foreheads, to shew who were their Masters and Owners: so it well sets forth how the People of the *Roman Church* are become *Slaves* to the Pope and his great ones. Or it may refer to the *Phylacteries* which the *Jews* wore on their Hands and Foreheads: and then the Meaning is, that the deluded People of the *Roman Communion* are constrain'd to have the *Injunctions* and *Laws* of their Church always before them, and to obey and follow them. And without this Subjection and Obedience there is neither Preferment in the Church, nor Commerce and Traffick in the Commonwealth: they must neither buy nor sell, they must not have any Advantage of Life. Who sees not, that this is an exact Delineation of the *Papish Antichrist*, and those that are employ'd by him?

Perhaps it may be expected I should say something of the *Name of the Beast*, and the *Number of his Name*, which was mention'd before. There is great Variance of Opinions about these, which I will briefly rehearse, and then offer that which I conceive to be most probable. According to *Grotius* the Numerical Name here is ΟὐλπιϞ, the Emperor *Trajan's* Name: but this contains in it 860, and on that Account is to be rejected. The Bishop of *Meaux*, now of *Condom*, says, the Number 666 is found in *Diocles. Augustus*, and so is meant of *Dioclesian* the persecuting Emperor, who was call'd *Diocles*, as well as *Dioclesian*: but unless he could prove that *Dioclesian* is the Person spoken of in the *thirteenth Chapter* of the *Apocalypse*, there is no heed to be given to what he saith. Monsieur *Simon* pretends, he hath lately found this Number in *Roterodami*, but no body minds what he saith. **Genebrard* makes *Luther* Antichrist, and applies the Number of the Beast to him. So do *Feuardentius*, *Lindanus*, *Osburnus*, but then they miserably miscall him *Lulter* instead of *Luther*: and to make out their

Conceit, they represent the Name in *Hebrew*, and reckon the Number according to the Import of the Numerical Letters in that Language : and yet, after all, the Name doth not make up that Number. *Beljarmine* finds out the Number of the Beast in the Word *Σαββαθ*, applying it to *Luther*, and in the *Hebrew* Letters of the Name *David Chytræus*. And at last it became usual to find the Number of the Apocalyptic Beast in any Person that was hated by any Party. Thus some attempted it in the Name of *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*. *William Lilly* would needs find it in *William Laud*. Some, that imagin'd the *Scotch Presbyterians* to be Antichrist, bragg'd that they found the Words in the *Scotch Covenant* to be just 666, the Number of the Beast.

To leave these Whimsies, which have no Bottom at all, I will proceed to give you the Judgments of those who have applied the Apocalyptic Number to the *Roman* or *Papal Beast* : for he is the Person spoken of in this Chapter, and consequently the Number here specified belongs to him only. Venerable *Bede* on the *Revelation* expounds the Number of the Beast by Reference to 1 *Kings* x. 14. 2 *Chron.* ix. 13. where we read that *Solomon's* yearly Revenue of Gold was 666 Talents. Whence he infers, that *Covetousness* and *great Revenues* are the Number of the Beast; and this may not unfitly be applied to the *Roman* Antichrist, but it doth not touch any Name at all.

Some have espied this Number in more Names and Words than one, as in *Ἐκκλησία Ἰταλικά* ; and in *PaVLo QVinto VICE-Deo*, which was an Inscription under the Picture of Pope *Paul V.* made and contrived by a Jesuit, *Thomas Maria Caraffa*. The Numeral Letters put together make exactly 666 ; Mr. *Bedel* observ'd this, when he saw it at *Venice*. Some make *Vicarius Generalis Dei in Terris* to answer precisely to the Numbers. Others say it is found in *Dux Cleri*, and they understand it of the Pope. Others confine it to one single Name : So *Piscator* upon the

Place in the *Revelation* thinks the *Hebrew Word Romijth* may be meant.

Dr. *Potter* takes no notice of the *Name*, but only of the *Number* of the Beast, and tells us that the Number 25 is the Square Root of 666, which Number of 25 is applicable on several Accounts to *Rome*. In the *Romish State* and Hierarchy it is a celebrated Number: there are just so many Gates, Parishes, Cardinals, Monks in most Monasteries, &c. that we may plainly see this Number is affected by them. This is a new way of construing the Apocalyptick Mysteries, by Fraction and Multiplication; as if St. *John* was skill'd in *Algebra* and the *Extraction of the Quadrate Roots* of Numbers. If any Man can satisfy himself with such an odd Invention as this, I leave him to do it. For my own Part, I can't persuade myself that it is an *Algebraic Beast* that St. *John* here means; for he tells us that the Number of his Name is the *Number of a Man*, that is, it is the way of numbring in common Use among Men, which the foresaid *Quadrate Root* is not.

The Interpretation which I pitch upon is that of *Ireneus*, which commends itself to us by its *Antiquity*, and by its *Plainness*, and by its *Completeness*: for both the *Name* of Antichrist and the *Number* of the Name are contain'd in Λατῆν, the *Latin* or *Roman*, for *Latin* is the same with *Roman*; whence the Greeks always call the Church of *Rome* the *Latin Church*. As for the Manner of writing and spelling the Word, we are certain that 'tis Antient; for instead of the Letter *iota* it was common to use the Dipthong *ei*, as in the Words Ἀγροῦν, Σαλῶν, Νῆλ, and many others, which is observ'd by *Joseph Scaliger* in his Notes on *Eusebius's Chronicon*. And there seems to be something more in this Word, because all things in the Church of *Rome* are said and written in *Latin*; their Decrees, their Bulls, yea, their very Prayers are in *Latin*, yea, the Scriptures are read only in *Latin*. Therefore the Head of the Papal Government hath justly

justly the Denomination of $\Lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\varsigma$. And if we examine the Numeral Letters in this Word, we shall find that they exactly make up the Number *Six hundred threescore and six*; as thus $\Lambda\ A\ T\ E\ I\ N\ O\ \Sigma$.

30 | 1 | 300 | 5 | 10 | 50 | 70 | 200.

Wherefore the foresaid Writer gathers from many Arguments, that *Rome* shall be the Seat of the *Beast* and the *Whore*, because the Name of *Antichrist* in the Revelation is express'd in $\Lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\varsigma$. So old this Opinion is : and we are to remember, that this holy Martyr was the Disciple of *Polycarp*, and Auditor of *St. John*, and thence it is probable, that he receiv'd it from him. Therefore this Pious Father himself doth not conceal that this was held by those that saw and convers'd with *St. John*. And if we consider by *whom* and at *what time* the *Latin Service* was first set up in all Churches (whether they understood the Tongue or no) we shall have the greater Esteem of this Opinion, for *Vitalian* who erected this Service was a *Roman* by Nation, whereas several other Bishops of *Rome* were *Grecians*, *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Syrians*, *Sicilians*, *Dalmatians*, *Athenians*, *Thracians*, *French*, *Germans*; so that the Word $\Lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\varsigma$ agrees to him in a peculiar Manner. And it was the Year 666, when he sent into *England* to settle the *Latin Service*, which may yet farther give Occasion for the Denomination of $\Lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\varsigma$. I apprehend then this to be the best Conjecture that is on Foot. No Man can be positive about the Certainty of it. We must not expect things of this Nature to be very clear and obvious, when a Curtain is purposely drawn over them. But tho' we can't be decretory in our Sentence concerning the Name and Number of the *Beast*, yet we are sure of his *Character*, and that we may depend upon. I have given a succinct Account of it, as it is set down in the thirteenth Chapter of the *Revelation* : wherein I took notice of the *Ten-horn'd Beast*, and the *two-horn'd Beast*, the one *Ethnic*, the other *Christian*. It is this latter that is the *Antichrist*

we are treating of, namely, the *Roman Pontiff*, or *Rome* govern'd by the Pope.

I pass now to the seventeenth Chapter of this Book, where the Character is continued, but in different Strokes; for it pleas'd the Holy Ghost to represent mystically and prophetically the same thing under various Forms. Here *Antichristian Rome* or the *Papal Dominion* is describ'd to be a *Great Whore* (for Idolatry and such heinous Vices are call'd Whoredom and Fornication in Scripture) *that sitteth upon many Waters*, *ψ. l.* that is, hath many People belonging to her: for this is interpreted in the fifteenth Verse. *The Waters where the Whore sitteth are Peoples, and Multitudes, and Nations, and Tongues.* And when *Rome* is call'd a *Woman* and a *Whore* more than once in this Chapter, it may well be thought to refer to what the Popish Historians relate, that one of their Popes, *Pope John VIII.* proved a *Woman*, and a *Whore*. Thus the *Roman Whore* is such, not only in a Metaphorical, but a Literal Sense. Among the *Hebrews* a *Whore* hath her * Name from *Sanctity*: which may give us some Account of the Title of *his Holiness*. Their own Histories conceal not the Lewdness of the Popes, and the filthy Actions of their chief Clergy, which truly answers to the Foundations of *Rome*: for she was built by two Twins incestuously begot upon a Vestal Nun, and they were both of them suckled by a † Strumpet. But if the Title of *Whore* given to *Papal Rome* in this Book of the Revelation be meant chiefly with respect to her *Idolatry*, yet even then we know that this is wont to go along with corporal Whoredom. The *Sidonian Women* enticed *Solomon* to worship the *Sidonian Gods*. The *Moabitish Women* drew the *Israelites* to adore the Idols of the *Moabites*.

With her the Kings of the Earth have committed Fornication, and the Inhabiters of the Earth have been

* *Kedeshah*, Meretrix.

† For so some render *Lupa*.

made drunk with the Wine of her Fornication, &c. 2. that is, Emperors and Kings and others of an inferior Rank have by her Allurements been prevail'd with to join with her in idolatrous Worship. In the third Verse, this Woman, this Whore is represented as sitting upon a Scarlet-colour'd Beast full of Names of Blasphemy, having Seven Heads and Ten Horns; that is, her Seat is at Rome, which is now become as impious and blasphemous as it was in her Pagan State. It follows, &c. 4. *The Woman was array'd in Purple and Scarlet Colour, and deck'd with Gold and precious Stones and Pearls;* that is, she is proud and pompous, having a golden Cup in her Hand full of Abominations and Filthiness of her Fornication, that is, she inveigles Men to embrace her detestable Doctrines, and to approve of her idolatrous Practices. And upon her Forehead was a Name written, (which was this, and gives us her true Character) *Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots, and Abominations of the Earth,* &c. 5. It is most fitly said, that *Mystery* is engrav'd in the Forehead of this Whore: for the *Mystery of Iniquity* was the Expression that was made use of before to set forth the Religion of the Roman Church, which is all Cheat and Disguise, and made up of Intrigue and Design. And to let us see, that this is to be understood, not of Rome Pagan, but pretending Christianity, *Joseph Scaliger* and others of good Credit vouch it for Truth, that the Popes antiently bore the Word *Mystery* in the Forepart of their Mitres.

I observe next, that *Rome* is here call'd *Babylon*: and *Mystery* being prefix'd to this Name shews that it is not the literal or proper *Babylon*. And this was the Opinion of the Antients, as we may see in their Interpretation of St. Peter's Words, *the Church that is at Babylon saluteth you,* 1 Eph. v. 13. that is, say they, the Church at Rome. So **Tertullian* and †*Eusebius* seem to understand the Apostle's Words, and so do the Popish Writers generally, and their Design

* Adv. Judæos. cap. 3.

† Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 14.

is to prove hence that *Peter* was at *Rome*, and that he was Bishop there. But for my part, tho' I have shew'd that it is the Judgment of some of the Fathers that *Rome* is meant here by *Babylon*, yet I don't see, there is any Necessity of subscribing to that Interpretation: yea, it seems more probable that *Babylon* properly so called, where the *Captivity* was, is meant in this Place: for there remain'd there since the *Captivity* the Race of those *Jews* that return'd not back; and *St. Peter* being a Minister of the *Circumcision*, it is likely he visited that Country. Not that I hold with the common Opinion that *St. Peter* wrote this Epistle from *Babylon* in *Caldea*: for I think it might be proved, that he was not there, when he wrote this Epistle, but I rather think that he only acquaints those he writes to with the Salutations of those of *Babylon*, as *St. Paul* saith in 1 *Cor.* xvi. *All the Churches salute you.* Now, as it doth not follow that he was in them all when he wrote, so neither can it be prov'd that *St. Peter* was in the *Eastern Babylon* when he sent this Epistle, wherein he saith, *The Church that is at Babylon saluteth you.*

It is enough for our present Purpose, that in that Part of the Book of the *Revelation*, which speaks designedly of *Rome*, *Babylon* is applied to that Place. And from hence it was, that it was the general Belief that *Rome* was meant by the *Apocalyptick Babylon*: which we find stiffly maintain'd by *Baronius* and *Belarmine*, and most of the *Roman* Communion. From this common and receiv'd Notion it was, that *Lewis XII.* King of *France*, excommunicated by Pope *Julius II.* (about *A. D.* 1506) to shew his Detestation and Defiance of the Pope, coined his Money with this Motto, *Perdam Babylonem.* By *Babylon* he meant *Rome* and the Pope, against whom he then made War. But we find the Holy Spirit himself interpreting *Babylon* to be *Rome*, in the seventeenth Verse of this Chapter of the *Revelation*, *The Woman which thou sawest (the same with the Great Whore, and Babylon the Great) is that Great City which reigneth over the*

the Kings of the Earth, which domineers over Emperors and Princes, and makes them do Homage to her, which can be no other than Rome.

The other Part of her Character, the *Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth*, needs no explaining: for any one may see, that it refers to the *Idolatry* of the Church of Rome, which in the sacred Style is call'd *Whoredom and Abomination*. It is said in the next Verse, that this *Woman was drunken with the Blood of the Saints, and with the Blood of the Martyrs of Jesus*, which is another known Branch of the Character of the Church of Rome; She delights in Cruelty, Blood, and Slaughter: and those that have courageously asserted and maintain'd the holy Doctrines and the pure Worship of Jesus have experienced this in all Ages. But let us farther attend to the Holy Ghost's own Interpretation and Discovery of this *Mystery, Babylon, &c.* *Here is the Mind that hath Wisdom, &c.* *that is*, here follows the Spiritual and right Understanding of the Vision of the Whore, and of the Beast with Seven Heads and Ten Horns. *The Seven Heads are Seven Mountains on which the Woman sitteth*, which (as hath been observ'd before) is a plain Description of Rome that was built on Seven Hills. *And there are Seven Kings: Five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come: and when he cometh, he must continue a short Space. And the Beast that was, and is not, even he is the Eighth, and is of the Seven, and goeth into Perdition, &c.* *&c.* the Seven Heads of the Roman Beast signify not only the Seven Hills, on which it is placed, but Seven Sorts of Government or Supreme Powers succeeding one another in Rome; namely *Kings, Consuls, Tribunes, Decemviri, Dictators, Pagan Emperors, Christian Emperors*; Five whereof were fallen; that is, the Five first were past and gone in St. John's Time: and one is, that is, the Government of the Heathen Emperors was in being at that time when he receiv'd this Revelation. *And the other, the Seventh, viz. the Government of Christian Emperors (which began in Constantine the Great) was*

not yet comē, but when he cometh, he must continue a short time, i. e. comparatively in Respect of the Sixth Head that went before, to wit, the Pagan Emperors; and in Comparison of the next Head, who is to come, viz. the Antichristian or Papal Power. *This is the Beast that was, and is not, and yet is* (as 'tis said, *ŷ. 8.*) that is, its Rise was Pagan, but afterwards it became Christian, and so was the Beast still an Idolatrous and Persecuting Power, but not the very same that it was in all Respects. This is no other than the Pope, or Popery, made up of Paganism and Christianity. In respect of its Idolatry it remains Pagan still; and is therefore rightly call'd (as we have heard) *the Image of the Beast*, the very Picture and Representation of old Heathen Rome. The Beast seem'd to be slain, when Constantine introduced Christianity into the Empire, but he was restor'd and revived, when the Pontifical Power was erected, when the Papal Empire was set up. This is here said to be *the eighth, i. e.* it is the eighth Sort of Government that Rome hath had. *And he is of the Seven, viz.* he may be reckon'd as one of the Seven foregoing Kinds of Government, and is the last of them. Next the Ten Horns of the Beast are explain'd, *ŷ. 12. the Ten Horns which thou sawest are Ten Kings which have receiv'd no Kingdom as yet: but receive Power as Kings one Hour with the Beast. i. e.* in St. John's Time they were not Independent and Sovereign Powers, but were Members of the Roman Empire: but shall have a greater Power at the same time (that is meant by *Hour*) that the Roman Empire becomes idolatrous, and Antichrist is set up. But they shall be subject to the Beast as to Ecclesiastical and Spiritual Things, as it follows, *These shall give their Power and Strength to the Beast*, contribute to the upholding of the Papal Hierarchy. But afterwards they shall hate the Whore, &c. they shall forsake her, and leave the Popish Cause and Religion, *ŷ. 16, 17.* And this makes way for the Fall of Babylon, the final Destruction of Antichrist, describ'd in the next Chapter.

Concerning

Concerning the *Time* when this shall be accomplish'd, I will here say something, there being a good Foundation laid for it by what is discover'd to us in the *Revelation*. For there we are precisely told, how long a time Antichrist shall continue; namely, *one thousand two hundred and threescore Days*, i. e. so many Years: for amongst the Prophetick Writers a Day is put for a Year, *Ezech. iv. 6. Dan. ix. 24.* There is no Controversy about this: for all agree to it. That which I am to shew, is this; that the precise Duration of Antichrist is one thousand two hundred and sixty Years: which is evident from *Rev. xiii. 5.* where we are ascertain'd that to the Beast with Seven Heads and Ten Horns, which is the Papal Antichristian Beast, *there was given Power to continue forty two Months*, i. e. just 1260 Years. For they reckon'd thirty Days to a Month, and then two and forty times thirty makes a thousand two hundred and sixty. So that it is plain, that these forty and two Months are the very same with 1260 Years, which is the Duration of the Kingdom of Antichrist.

This is farther proved from *Rev. xi. 3.* where 'tis said, *the Witnesses shall prophesy 1260 Days*; that is, (as was said before) so many Years. Now 'tis not denied, that the Witnesses bear witness all the time of the Beast's Reign, which is forty two Months, the same with 1260 Years. These Witnesses shall lie buried three Days and a half, i. e. $3\frac{1}{2}$ Years; viz. the three last Years and a half, of the 1260 Years. Whence it seems to be probable, that some great Tribulation and Popery itself shall seize on some of the Reformed Churches before the *Millennium*.

Again, the exact Time of the Continuance of the *Roman Antichrist* is known from the Time of the *Woman's being in the Wilderness*, which was to be 1260 Days, as 'tis expressly said in *Rev. xii. 6.* For the reigning of the Beast, and the Witnesses prophesying, and the Woman's being in the Wilderness are at the same time, and of equal Duration. And in *v. 14.* the Woman is said to be in the Wilderness for a Time,

a Time, and Times, and half a Time, which is another way of expressing the whole Time of Antichrist's Reign, viz. 1260 Years, for a *Time* is a Prophetick Year: and as a Year consists of 360 Days (in a round Number), so a *Time* consists of 360 Years: and *Times* is twice as much, viz. 720 Years: and a *half time* is a Moiety of 360, which is 180: all which amounts to 1260. Thus we see, that 42 Months, and a *Time, and Times, and half a Time*, and 1260 Days, are the same Duration of Time, namely, the whole Time of the Reign of *Antichrist*.

It is certain then, that if we can inform ourselves when this Time *began*, we may easily tell when it *ends*; if we can fix the *Date of Antichrist*, we may soon determine the exact Time of his *Destruction*. We may conceive that the *first and earliest* Date of his Appearance was when the Pagan Roman Empire ceas'd: for that was it which (as we learn from the Apostle) *with-held* or hindred his *being reveal'd*. 2 Thes. ii. 6, 7. Wherefore when this had its Period in *Augustulus*, A. D. 470, Antichrist immediately started up and succeeded. Another, but later *Epoche* of Antichrist is the Time, when the arrogant Title of *Universal Bishop* was assum'd by the Bishop of Rome, namely by *Boniface III.* who obtain'd of *Phocas* the Emperor, that this Title should be conferr'd upon him. This was in the Year 606, and may justly be accounted the Date of Popery (for *Popery* is setting up the *Pope* as Supreme Head and Universal Monarch of all Churches,) and of the Man of Sin or Antichrist.

Here is a *double Epoche* of Antichrist: and accordingly we may judge of this *Period*. If we follow the former *Epoche*, then the End of Antichrist must be about A. D. 1730. for between A. D. 470 and A. D. 1730 are a thousand two hundred and sixty Years. If we adhere to the latter, then his End will be about A. D. 1866. for between 606 and 1866 is that aforesaid Number, which contains the Time of the Duration of Antichrist. I am inclin'd to believe that

Both

Both these are distinctly to be accomplish'd ; that is, that fifteen or sixteen Years hence there will be a signal Fall of the Mystical *Babylon*, and that Years after That there will be the complete Destruction of her ; namely, *when the Iniquity of those Amorites is fill'd up*. But here I affirm nothing peremptorily, because there is great Difference in the Computation of Years, and we cannot expect it should be otherwise : for our Chronology is imperfect ; and tho' there is a certain determinate Time for the final and total Ruin of the *Roman Beast*, yet there may be some foregoing Preparation to it, which may in some Sense be stiled his Ruin and Fall. The whole Scheme of that Catastrophe being by *Degrees*, 'tis difficult to fix the Period of it.

And as for the *Manner*, that admits also of some Variety : for the Apostle tells us that the *Man of Sin shall be consumed with the Spirit of God's Mouth, and by the Brightness of his Coming*, 2 *Thess.* ii. 8. by the Word of Truth, and Preaching of the Gospel, which shall be bright and shining, clear and convictive : and what is likely to be done in that way may be gather'd from what hath been done already since the Reformation. But that the Papal Tyranny shall also be destroy'd by Force and Violence, may be collected from *Rev.* xvii. 16. where I apprehend this Method is meant by *bating the Whore and making her desolate, and eating her Flesh, and burning her with Fire*.

Having spoken thus largely concerning Antichrist, it may not be improper after all to add the *Testimony* of both *Papists* and *Protestants* who agree in this, that the *Pope* and the *Church of Rome* are that *Antichrist* spoken of by *St. Paul* and *St. John*. *Platina* and several other Popish Writers represent the eleventh and twelfth Centuries as *Antichristian* : and that Historian in the Life of *Pope Paschalis II.* relates, that the Bishop of *Florence* used to affirm that Antichrist was then in being : the Characters, which the Popes in those Times bore, giving just Occasion for this Belief. Honest *Bernard* speaking of the Popish Bishops and Clergy, pronounces them to be *Servants of Antichrist*,

tho'

tho' they pretend to be Ministers of Christ*. And in another Place he freely declares, that † the Beast in the Apocalypse, to whom is given a Mouth speaking Blasphemies, and to wage War with the Saints, possesses Peter's Chair, like a Lion prepar'd for his Prey. *Joachim Abbas*, at the latter End of the twelfth Century expounded the Revelation to King Richard I. of England, when he was on his Expedition to the Holy Land; and assur'd him, that Rome was meant by Babylon, and the Pope was Antichrist: which he likewise avers in his Comment on that Book. *Johannes de Rupe Scissa* (in the fourteenth Century) a Franciscan Monk, in a Tractate he publish'd, positively asserted the Papacy to be Antichrist. *Nicolaus Orum*, Doctor of Divinity, in a Sermon before Pope Urban V. on *Isai. lvi. 1.* prov'd that Antichrist was come, because of the Corruptions of the Church; because of the Pride and domineering Spirit of the Clergy. *Wickliff* held the Pope was the Antichrist spoken of in the Scripture. *Nicolaus Clemangis* maintain'd the same; and that Rome was Babylon and the Great Whore. And *Savonarola* was condemn'd to the Flames for the like Positions.

And if this was the Voice of several of the Roman Communion, we are not to wonder, that we have it from the Pens of professed Protestants, as *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Isset*, and all the Reformed Divines generally. The learned *Chamier* speaks their Sense in those resolute Words of his, || *I will say it, saith he, with Confidence; either there is no Antichrist, or the Bishop of Rome is He.* All the Antient Doctors and Divines of our own Church were stedfast in this Persuasion; *Tyndal*, *Fox*, *Latimer*, A^bp. *Cranmer*, B^p. *Jewel*, A^bp. *Parker*, A^bp. *Whitgift*; which last maintain'd this for his Thesis at the publick Commencement, when he commenc'd D. D. 1569. *Papa est ille Antichristus.*

* Serm. 3. in Cantic. Epist. ad Eugen. Papam.

† Serm. 33. in Cantic. & Epist. 125.

|| *Dicam audacter, aut nullum esse Antichristum, aut Episcopum Romanum eum esse. Lib. 16. cap. 8.*

And he applies that Title to the Pope and Roman Church in the Writings he put out afterwards against T. C. Of this Judgment were Dr. *Whitaker*, Dr. *Rainolds*, A^bp. *Grindal*, A^bp. *Abbot*, B^p. *Andrews*, B^p. *Morton*, *Willet*, *Fulk*, *Sutcliff*, *Hooker*, B^p. *Davenant*, B^p. *Hall*, B^p. *Prideaux*, Mr. *Mede*, Dr. (afterwards Bishop) *Saunderson*, in his fifth Sermon *ad Populum*. And the Learned Dr. *Jackson's* Words are very remarkable, * [The Papiſts, ſaith he, ſee as little concerning Antichriſt, as the Jews do of Chriſt: for as theſe latter ſtill look for the Meſſias, who is already come; ſo the former expect an Antichriſt who hath been a long time reveal'd, and is reverenc'd by them as a God on Earth.] Again, † [He, who will not acknowledge the Papacy to be the Kingdom of Antichriſt, hath great Reason to ſuſpect his Heart, that if he had lived with our Saviour, he would ſcarce have taken him for the Meſſias.]

King James in his Writings, and he with the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Convocation, in an Act for a Subſidy for the Clergy, in the third Year of that King's Reign, acknowledge the Pope to be Antichriſt. The Publick Service for the fifth of November owns the ſame. And that it is the Doctrine of the Church of England, we may ſatisfy ourſelves from the third Part of the *Homily againſt Idolatry*, and from that *againſt Rebellion*, Part 6. and from the *Homily for Whitſunday*. The laſt learned Translators of the Bible call the Pope *the Man of Sin* in their *Dedication* of their Work to King James. And this was generally held and profeſs'd 'till about the Beginning of King Charles I. when at the ſame time ſeveral Churchmen began to fall off from this as well as ſome other Proteſtant Doctrines. But that which I have produced is ſufficient I hope to convince any ſober Man what is the Deciſion of our Church in this Point, and what was the Universal Judgment of our Archbishops and Bishops, and the Learned and Godly Divines of the Church of England.

* On the Creed, Book III. ch. 8.

† Book III. ch. 22.

And I might shew that That of Ireland did perfectly agree with us: witness the *Articles of Religion*, agreed upon by the *Archbishops and Bishops and the rest of the Clergy of Ireland*, in the Convocation holden at Dublin in the Year of our Lord God, 1615. The Bishop of Rome, saith the 80th Article, is so far from being the Supreme Head of the Universal Church of Christ, that his Works and Doctrine do plainly discover him to be the Man of Sin foretold in the Holy Scriptures, whom the Lord shall consume with the Spirit of his Mouth, and abolish with the Brightness of his Coming. And to let the Reader see how hearty the whole Body of the Clergy was in this Persuasion, I will add the Decree of the Synod annex'd to the Articles, If any Minister, of what Degree or Quality soever he be, shall publickly teach any Doctrine contrary to these Articles agreed upon, if after due Admonition he do not conform himself, and cease to disturb the Peace of the Church, let him be silenc'd and depriv'd of all Spiritual Promotions he doth enjoy.



CHAP. XX.

Mahomet conjectur'd to be the Eastern Antichrist.

THERE is only one thing yet to be added, for the completing what I have to say concerning *Antichrist*: and that is, that *Mahomet* should not be wholly excluded from this Character, but come in for a Share with the *Papal Head*. For as this latter is the *Western*, so the former is the *Eastern Antichrist*: and both of them together make up one *Antichrist*. Luther was of this Persuasion. *The Head (saith he) of *Antichrist* is together the Pope and the Turk: for a living Beast must have a Body and

a Soul. *The Spirit or Soul of Antichrist is the Pope, but his Flesh or Body is the Turk. This destroyeth God's Church bodily: the Pope both Spiritually and Corporally.* Some learned Writers have thought, that *Mahomet* is the *False Prophet* in the Book of the *Revelation*, ch. xvi. v. 13. xix. 20. xx. 10. We know that that Impostor gloried in the Title of *the Prophet*, and is so signally call'd by his Followers. But especially we shall be inclin'd to look upon the *Turk* as *Joint-Antichrist* with the Pope, if we take notice of the *Parallel* between the one and the other; if we observe how *Popery* and *Turcism* agree: which I will represent in these following Particulars.

First, they agree as to their *Seat and Place*: for *Rome* and *Constantinople* are convertible: as we see in one of the Canons of the Council of *Chalcedon*, where *Constantinople* is stiled * *New Rome*. And again, in another Canon of the *Constantinopolitan* Council 'tis order'd that the Bishop of *Constantinople* shall have the next Precedence to the Bishop of *Rome*, † because it is *New Rome*. On which *Balsamon* hath these Words, ‖ *Constantine* the Great having translated the Imperial Scepter of *Rome* to *Byzantium*, this City was call'd *Constantinople*, and *New Rome*, and the Queen of all Cities. And to clear this yet farther, that it may be seen I do not proceed upon an unheard-of Principle, (tho' seldom taken notice of) I will adjoin that of *Philostorgius*; *Constantine* the Great, saith he, built *Constantinople*, and gave it the Name of ‡ *Rome Alma*, which in the *Roman* Tongue signifies Famous or Illustrious. And § *Nicephorus* saith the like thing. It is likely *Philostorgius* was mistaken as to the Word [*Alma*] but I will not dispute about that, but leave it to the Criticks: this is enough, that the Emperor gave *Constantinople* the Title of *Rome*; and so other Writers witness. See

* Εἰς τὴν βασιλίδι Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἢ αὖ Ῥώμην. Can. 28.

† Διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν ἢ αὖ Ῥώμην. Can. 3.

‖ Μετανομάσθη Κωνσταντινούπολις ἢ Νέα Ῥώμη, καὶ παρὰ τῶν πόλεων βασιλεῖς.

‡ Ἀλμα Ῥώμη ἐπώνυμος. ὃ δηλοῖ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν γλῶσσαν τὴν ἰδιόεσσαν. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 9.

§ Hist. Eccl. l. 8. c. 4.

Suidas in [*Κωνσταντινῆ πόλις*.] It might be added, that *Constantinople*, the Seat of the *Turks*, stands on *Seven Hills*, as well as *Rome* once did. And farther it may be observ'd, that *Babylon*, which is held by the *Turks*, is according to the *Apocalyptick Writings* the City of *Rome*. And if I should proceed, and say, that as by *Babylon* is meant *Rome*; so by *Euphrates*, *Rev. ix. 14. xvi. 12.* is meant *Tyber*, it would be no improbable Conjecture. Thus it appears that there is a great Agreement as to Names and Places belonging to the *Mahometans* and the *Papists*: which is an Intimation to us, that they agree in some things else, and that one entire Antichrist is made of both.

Secondly, they appear'd in the World at the same time. *Mahomet* began to publish his Doctrine about the Year of our Lord 600: and the *Arabian Epoche* or *Hegira* begins at *A. D. 622*: for then the Empire of the *Saracens* or *Arabs* commenced under *Mahomet*. And about *A. D. 666*. his Sect took place in the World, and was strangely propagated. This Year agrees with the Number of the *Apocalyptic Beast*, and there are those * who have observ'd, that this Number is found in *Mahomet's* Name, they mean the Greek Name Μαμετίς.

And about the same time with *Mahomet* in *Arabia* rose up Pope *Boniface III.* at *Rome*, who usurp'd the Title of *Universal Bishop* and *Head of all Churches*, by the Favour and Assistance of the Emperor *Phocas*. Then the Kingdom of the *Papal Beast* began; then *Popery* properly so call'd was erected; but the full Age of the *Beast* was 666. Thus *Mahometism* and *Popery* are alike as to their Date; their *Horoscopes* agree.

Thirdly, the *Roman Religion*, like that of the *Arabian Impostor*, is made up of *Judaism* and *Paganism*. *Mahomet's* Father was a *Pagan*, and his Mother a *Jew*: and accordingly we find, that *Mahometism* is a *Mongrel Religion*, a Medley of *Pagan* and *Jewish* Ceremonies: and so *Popery* is a Compound of *Judaical* and *Heathen* Rites. There are too plain Proofs of the

* Genebrand. in Chronographia. Feuarentinus in Irenzi. l. 5. c. 30.

former in the *Roman* Worship and their Religious Observances, which I need not insist on, because they are so obvious: but I will mention some of the latter Sort, viz. such Usages and Practices as they seem to have borrow'd from the *Pagans*, as the canonizing of Saints, from the *Apotheosis*; Praying to Saints and Angels, from the *Gentiles* using the Mediation of inferior Gods; Wakes and Vigils and Church-Fests, from Customs used by *Heathens* in the consecrating their Idols; Image-Worship; Purgatory, the shaving of the Priests Heads; burning of Incense; sacrificing for the Dead; Celibacy of Priests: the several Orders in the *Roman* Hierarchy, which, saith *Gratian* (*De Decret. Distinct. 21.*) were borrow'd from the *Gentiles*, who had their Arch-Flamens, Flamens, &c. And *Polydore Virgil* confesses these very Things to be true, and defends the good Design of them, which was to bring over the *Pagans* to the Christian Religion.

But I proceed to take notice of some other superstitious Rites and Usages, which art partly *Jewish* and partly *Gentile*, wherein both *Turks* and *Papists* do friendly conjoin, as first in *Ceremonious Abstinence*. The one eat no Swine's Flesh, nor Blood, or Things strangled: and Wine is forbidden them by their Law, tho' of late they transgress it with some Freedom. The other are great Pretenders to Fasting and Abstinence, and taste not of Flesh at some certain Times. As the others keep their *Ramadan* or *Lent* a Month together: so these yearly observe a *Fast of forty Days* with great Severity and Exactness. As some of the former afflict and macerate their Bodies after a strange manner, and some of them will put out their Eyes before *Mahomet's* Tomb to prevent the Sight of any thing after: so among these latter there are those that whip and scourge their Bodies, and use them very unmercifully. The *Turks* have ceremonious Washings, of which they have three Sorts: so the *Papists* have their superstitious Sprinklings with Holy Water, and other Purifications which they place great Vertue in. They both agree in the great Shew of external Devotion

which they make; the former, when they are entering their Moschs or Temples, put off their Shoes, and leave them behind them: the latter have an excessive Veneration for their Churches and Temples, and place a wonderful Holiness in them. The same they are wont to do in their Saints Days and Festivals; wherein they symbolize with the *Mahometans* in their observing their religious Feasts, but especially their *New Moons*. Whence a *Crescent* or *New Moon* is the *Turkish* Cognisance, because of their observing the *Lunar* Calculations, and the Aspects of that Planet at their Feasts, as the *Jews* did in their Religion.

Both these Parties have their *Canonical Hours* of Prayer. *Mahomet* enjoyn'd his Disciples to pray five times in the space of twenty four Hours: and the Church of *Rome* hath added two more to it. They both turn their Faces to a certain Quarter when they pray, the one looking toward the *South* (because *Mecca* is placed there); the other towards the *East*. They imitate one another in their Bowings and Prostrations, and their vain Gestures and Actions in their Worship: Especially the *Turkish* Priests are observ'd to lift up their Heads, to stretch out their Hands, and then joyn them together; to wipe their Eyes, to put their Fingers into their Ears, to fall flat, and kiss the Ground. And 'tis well known, that the *Papish Priests* are fam'd for their ridiculous Postures and mimical Actions. The *Moors*, who are *Mahometans*, have their *Beads*, wherewith they number their Prayers, as well as *Papists*. The *Turks*, as well as the *Papists*, have their *Monasteries* and *Convents*, and several *Religious Orders* who are noted for their absurd Severities, their uncouth Habits, their strange Abstinence, their slashing and whipping themselves, their gross Ignorance, their idle and slothful and beggarly way of living, their Uncleanneſs and Sodomy, &c. They have different *Santones* or *Holy Men*, of different Guises, Humours, and Ceremonies, but all observe Poverty and Obedience, and pretend to Chastity. Those who profess to live a mortified Life, and abandon the World's Enjoy.

Enjoyments, are call'd *Dervises* (which signifies Poor and Renouncers of the World). These go a begging, as the *Mendicant Friars* among the Papists. The *Turks* have a religious Order, call'd the *Order of Calender*, that profess Virginity, and have strange and wild ways to promote Chastity, wherein they outdo their Pattern. Among the former, *Fools* and *Frantick Persons* are had in great Honour and Reverence, as if they had some extraordinary Excellency in them, and in a manner *Sainted* by them. The latter have such *Saints*, who have behaved themselves like Persons out of their Wits, and by their *Enthusiastick* Fervors and Revelations have been transported out of the ordinary Temper of Human Nature.

The *Turks* make their *Pilgrimages* constantly to *Mecca* and *Medina*, two Cities in *Arabia*; one where *Mahomet* was born, the other where he was buried. They are particularly commanded to visit the former Place, if they have Means and Ability to perform it: and accordingly every Year one or other travels thither, which is a long and tedious Journey, and would be very dangerous, if they did not go in great Companies (which they call *Caravans*) and take a good Guard with them. It is held damnable not to visit this Place once at least in a Man's Life. And after they have visited *Mecca*, they repair to *Medina*, where with great Devotion they wait upon *Mahomet's* Sepulchre. And they also visit the Sepulchres of *Eubocar*, *Osman*, and *Homar*, and worship them, holding them to be *Mahomet's* true Successors. And such is the Devotion of the *Papists*, they place a great deal of Religion in Pilgrimages; they reckon it a great act of Worship, to travel to the Holy Land, and to prostrate themselves at the Place of Christ's Sepulchre; yea with singular Veneration they visit the Shrines of the Saints, and offer Gifts there, which they are encourag'd to do, because Pardon and Forgiveness of Sin is the Reward which is promised to those that undertake these Pilgrimages. And in this likewise they agree with the *Mahometans*: for after these

these have been at *Mecca* three or four Days, they all go to the *Hill of Pardons* about 14 or 15 Miles distant from *Mecca*: when they come thither, they pray, and hear a Homily, and they are absolv'd of all their Sins. And so when they go to *Medina* to visit the Prophet's Tomb, they return with Joy and Pomp, having left some Money and all their Sins behind them. Thus you see the *Parallel* between the *Turks* and *Papists* as to their Rites and Observances.

Fourthly, you may plainly see it in the way and manner of their setting up and upholding their respective Religions: which I will set before you in these ensuing Particulars.

I. Both Mahometism and Popery were at first erected and have been since upheld by the *nourishing of Ignorance* in the People. *Mahomet* had the opportunity of founding his Sect, because he dealt with *Arabians* and *Scythians* who were very ignorant, and might easily be impos'd upon. And he took care for the future, that they should be kept in *Darkness*, and not have any means of correcting their false Notices. It was order'd, that *Printing* should not be permitted in *Turky*, that there should be no *Schools of Learning* for the *Vulgar* to advance and improve their Knowledge. Their *Law* forbids them the *reading of Books*, and bars all Liberty of enquiring into Religion, and examining of Principles and Doctrines, and affords them no rational Helps to cultivate their Minds and Understandings: but takes care to breed them up in blind Submission and Obedience. * If any ask why they must compass the Temple at *Mecca* seven Times round, and throw Stones into the Valley of *Mecca*, &c. the Answer is, that there is no Reason for such a Command, but they ought to perform Obedience, altho' their Understanding be not satisfy'd about it. Thus 'tis in Popery, this Kingdom of *Darkness* was set up, and is maintain'd by *Blindness* and *Ignorance*, and this is call'd by them the *Mother of Devotion*. They allow not the People

to enquire into the Truth; they are unwilling they should be acquainted with Books; they forbid them the reading of them, but more especially of the Bible. As *Mahomet* prohibits the reading of the *Alcoran* to any but his Priests, and orders it to be interpreted by none but the *Mufti*: so the *Scriptures* are forbid by the Church of *Rome* to be perused by the People, and none must interpret them but the *Pope*. None is suffer'd to examine his Religion, but every one must believe as the Church believes. If any one ventures to lay open their Errors and Corruptions, the *Inquisition* presently rewards him for that Attempt. And this effectually frights the rest, insomuch that there is no disputing about Religion; and thus the *Roman Religion*, like that of *Mahomet*, is supported.

II. And so they are likewise by their gratifying the sensual Appetites and Desires of Men. *Mahomet* himself was insatiable in his Lust; he had several Wives and Concubines, and had Licence from *Gabriel* to marry as many as he pleased, and to divorce them when he pleased. And he indulg'd the like Liberty to others: for his *Alcoran* allows every one four Wives, and as many Concubines as they think fit. Yea their *Heaven* is of the like Nature: for *Mahomet* propounds a sensual *Paradise*, where there are carnal Pleasures and beastly Rewards. Thus the *Turkish Religion* is kept up by these fleshly Baits and Allurements. And so is *Popery*, which is a pleasing and tempting Religion, and therefore gains many Profelytes to it. In the *Pope's Territories* there is a *Seraglio*, at *Rome* there are Cabinet Councils held in the secret Apartments of Women, and of handsom young Men. There is a *Donna Olympia*, there are *Curtesans*, there are *Nephews*, there are fleshly Favourites in the Reign of every Pontiff. Worldly Delights and Emoluments are the only Views they aim at, and even among their Priests a plurality of Strumpets is reckon'd no Sin, if compar'd with Marriage. I might add here, that the *Papists* as well as the *Turks* make *Success* and *Prosperity* an Argument of the Goodness of their Cause. It is a

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Maxim with the latter, whatever prospers hath God for its Author: and so from the Success of their Wars they have been wont to conclude, God owns their Religion. This is the very Sentiment of the former: they hold that *Prosperity* is one Mark of their being a *true Church*: and because their Religion hath flourish'd so long a Time, they gather that God approves of it and them.

III. Both *Turk* and *Papist* maintain their Religion by Force. The Principles and Foundation of the *Mahometan* Government are military; the Sword rules all. It is observ'd by a late Author, that that which keeps up this Body Politick, is their Severity, which makes almost all Crimes, relating to the Government, equal, and punishes them with Death. So that Severity, Violence, and Cruelty, are natural to the *Turkish* Government: and the People are used to Oppression and Subjection, and Tyranny, and know no better, and are content with them. And as to their Religion, it is Death to question any part of it, and they are taught by their Prophet to have such a Reverence and Regard for it, that they think it meritorious to kill Christians in Battel; and those that die in the Wars against them are directly transported to Paradise, yea tho' they never lived according to their Law. The *Turks* are kind to Beasts, and they forbid the killing an Ant or a Bee; but they shew themselves very cruel and barbarous to Christians. In this the *Romanists* do perfectly resemble them: for they make great Pretences to Love and Charity, and some of their Saints were taken notice of for their Mercifulness to Beasts and Birds, as St. *Francis* especially who call'd them his *Brethren* and *Sisters*: but they are cruel and savage to their Fellow-Christians, and first stile them Hereticks, and think they merit when they kill them. For 'tis their way to keep up their Religion by Violence and Compulsion. Indeed it might justly create Wonder, that a feign'd and adulterate Religion should last so long: and that Men, otherwise understanding and sagacious, should not be sensible of those Delusions;

sions; yea that they should be so infatuated, as to be pleased with them: but the Wonder soon ceases, when we consider, that they are under a Law of Arms, of Force, and Tyranny. These are the Fundamentals of the Popish Religion, and by these it is upheld. But the *Turkish* Cruelty is nothing in comparison of that of the Church of *Rome*: for though the *Turks* are fierce and violent against Christians in Battel, yet they are affable and kind at other Times, and persecute none for Religion. But the Papists shed the Blood of Christians in the time of Peace, and delight in Persecution and Slaughter merely on the account of Religion.

IV. *Turcism* and *Popery* agree in this, that they both owe their Rise and Advancement to *Cheats* and *Impositions*. *Mahomet* endeavour'd to persuade his Disciples, that he was taken up upon his Beast *Alborac* into Heaven, a little before he publish'd his Religion to the World, and that there he was instructed what to do. He pretended great Familiarity with the Deity, and that he frequently conversed with Angels, but more especially with the Archangel *Gabriel*, from whom he receiv'd his *Alcoran*, which is stuff'd with Lies and Forgeries: but that Age was unlearned, rude and barbarous, and therefore apt to be seduced, and free to receive any Fables, and Fictions. This lying Prophet pretended to extraordinary Visions, Inspirations, and Raptures: and his falling Sickneſs was useful to him for that Purpose. Because a *Dove* came and rested on Christ, this sordid Imitator train'd up a Pigeon to come to his Ear; and he persuaded his Followers, that he had divine Tidings brought to him by it. In like manner the *Papal* Kingdom was set up; and is to this Time supported by Fraud and Deceit; by cunning Lies and Inventions, by feign'd Visions and Revelations; and some of their erroneous Doctrines and superstitious Practices are said to be attested and confirmed by them. The *Turkish* Priests make all unusual Accidents and Events to be Miracles, and these they often represent to the People,

People, to authorize some Parts of their Religion. So do the *Popish Priests* magnify their lying Wonders, and promote their Errors and idolatrous Usages by them. And one may observe, that the *Legends* and *Traditions* of the Papists answer to the *Fables* of the *Alcoran*. Thus Popery and Mahometism had the same Rise and Origin, and are upheld by the same Arts and Methods.

There are other Things wherein they agree. Some of the *Turkish* Votaries have, as the Papists, their *Reliques* which they shew and brag of. The *Turks* hold good Works to be meritorious of Heaven, and so do the Others. Among the former *Prayers* are said for the Souls of those who died with a Persuasion, that they have need of them when they are dead; and some of them hold *Purgatory*, as the latter do.

Thus I have gone thro' the Parallel of Turcism with Popery, and I have shew'd that in the very Founder of the one the Genius of the other is to be seen. Which gave me occasion to join both these together, the *Pope* and the *Mufti*, *Rome* and *Constantinople*, the *Conclave* and the *Divan*, the *Papal* and the *Mahometan Antichrist*.

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